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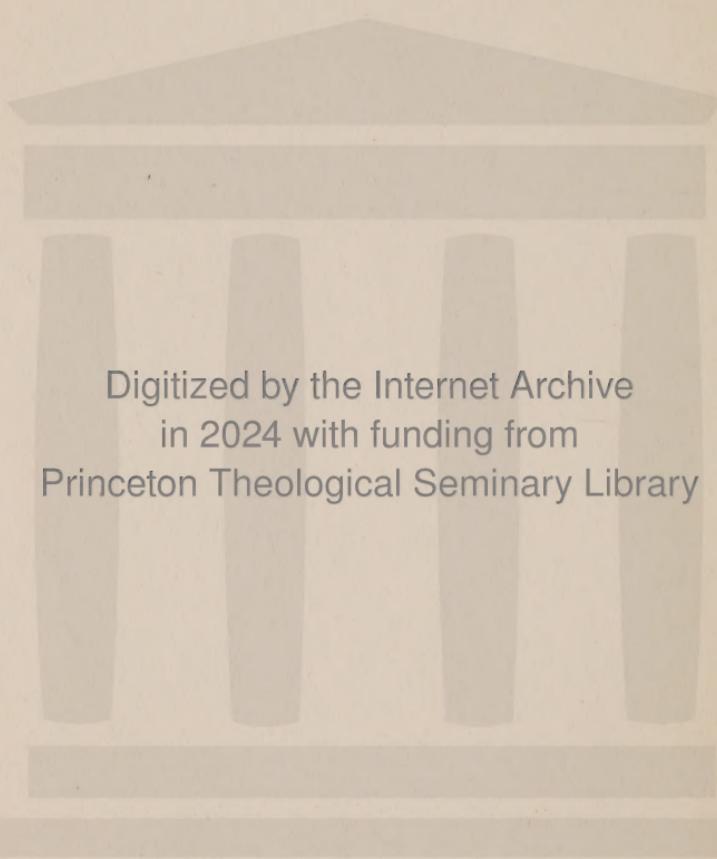
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IGNATIUS LOYOLA



PICTURE OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA
PAINTED BY THE FAMOUS JACOPINO DEL CONTE HIS PENITENT

A painting of St. Ignatius.



Ignatius Loyola

A General in the Church Militant

By

ROBERT HARVEY, M.A., B.D., D.TH.



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Jesus hath now many lovers of His heavenly kingdom, but few bearers of His Cross.

He hath many that are desirous of comfort, but few of tribulation.

He findeth many companions of His table, but few of His abstinence.

All desire to rejoice with Him; few are willing to suffer with Him.

Many follow Jesus to the breaking of bread, but few to the drinking of the chalice of His passion.

— *Thomas à Kempis*

Preface by the General Editor

FOLLOWING upon the lives of Ignatius by Sedgwick and Van Dyke the present volume, by a third non-Catholic biographer, is a convincing evidence of the inherent interest of the world at large in the soldier saint of Loyola.

It is a volume distinctive in itself, which we should not wish to forego, a vivid and inspiring account of one of the world's most impelling personalities. But its sterling value lies in the fact that it is based almost exclusively on authentic documents. No one reading this work can fail to understand what manner of man St. Ignatius was, and wherein lay the secret of his power.

In Ignatius we behold one of the few great leaders of men whose influence has not been lessened but increased with the passing centuries, a pivotal character in world history. The conquering career of Caesar ended when he fell, pierced with daggers, at the feet of Pompey's statue. But the conquest of the world for Christ, launched by St. Ignatius, under the directing hand of Providence, is still carried on unflaggingly over all the earth. Petty and slight was the ambition of Caesar compared with the divine impatience that moved the soul of Ignatius when, looking up into the starry skies, he contrasted the worthlessness of earthly pomp and glories with the undying splendors of the world beyond.

Considered even from a purely secular point of view, Ignatius of Loyola will forever remain one of the world's outstanding figures. His influence must not be measured in terms of his own life alone, but by the wide-flung work accomplished, through now four centuries, by the Company called into being, organized, and generalized by him at one of history's most eventful periods.

Rightly the author stresses throughout his book the military comparison he employs in describing the campaign for Christ begun by Ignatius and carried into effect by his followers with such splendid precision and unfailing alacrity throughout the Old World and the New, over the Eastern Hemisphere and the Western, in the brilliant cities of Europe and the most forsaken jungles of Africa, wherever a human soul was to be saved that has been redeemed by the blood of Christ.

That same military figure, under which Dr. Harvey announces his volume in its subtitle "A General in the Church Militant," is carried consistently through the book. It decides his grouping of events and colors the entire story. It crystallizes into sharpest clearness in his chapter headings with their striking military connotations. It becomes, in fact, the distinguishing note of this new Ignatian biography. Central in its whole account is the concept of the Two Standards and the great Captain, Christ, calling all to follow Him in the extension of God's Kingdom upon earth.

Not as an army of attack against Protestantism did Ignatius ever think of his Company, but rather as a force to conquer the world for Christ. His mind saw too clearly the causes which lay behind the new revolt in the disorders which had called it into being. He lost

no time in futile skirmishing, but concentrated his strength on one vast, steady, world-wide advance. Not a negative plan of defense but a positive campaign of teaching everywhere and to all men the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles as handed down by the Church — such was the motive that inspired the mind of St. Ignatius. Throwing into this task his whole strength he vigorously promoted at home the Catholic Reformation, while he planted abroad, on heathen soil, the standard of Christ.

In graphic style the writer gives his own picture of these events and the impressions they must create in any impartial mind.

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., PH.D.

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April 16, 1936.

Author's Preface

A LITTLE more than four hundred years ago, on the fifteenth of August, 1534, seven young men united themselves by vows jointly taken at Montmartre, Paris, in a significant fellowship of apostolic service.

Comparative studies in the leaders of the Counter-Reformation and the Evangelical Revival have led to this appreciation. They have also deepened first impressions of the great importance in the history of the Christian Church of the vows made by Ignatius and his companions. The present work is not a history of the Jesuit Order; neither is it an attempt to estimate its influence or appraise its value through the four centuries of its existence. It does endeavor to set forth the life, work, and spirit of the Founder of that Order.

Even one who is but imperfectly acquainted with the amazing wealth of her devotional literature may gratefully acknowledge that the Roman Catholic Church has been the spiritual home of vast numbers of men and women who have followed unflinchingly the "royal way, which is the way of the holy Cross." In that shining company Ignatius Loyola holds a distinguished place. To the service of Christ, under obedience to the Roman Pontiff, he surrendered unstintingly all that a man can give.

I have been greatly indebted to the Reverend Father John Milway Filion, S.J., of St. Ignatius Church, Winnipeg, former Provincial of the Order in Canada, and also to the Very Reverend Dr. A. B. Baird, ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and Professor of Church History in Manitoba College.

Each of these gentlemen read the manuscript and made valued suggestions.

My grateful thanks are also due to my wife, Lois (Logan) Harvey, M.A., whose knowledge of the Romance Languages was of material assistance to me.

Those interested in a further bibliography may refer to the lists cited at the close of such articles as "Ignatius Loyola," "Jesuits," and "Counter-Reformation" that are found in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, the *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Most readers will probably have access to one or more of these standard works.

The chief authorities used in the study that follows are the writings of Ignatius himself and his *Life* by Ribadeneira, the companion intimately associated with him throughout almost his entire religious career. Most of the quotations not credited elsewhere are from this *Life*, which has never appeared in English. The books by Ignatius, apart from his Letters, are the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Constitutions*, and the *Autobiography*, or *Confessions*, dictated to Gonzales. Use has also been made of the *Life* written a century later by Bartoli. The selections that head each chapter are from the translations of E. Allison Peers, M.A., Gilmour Professor of Spanish at the University of Liverpool.

The vows made at Montmartre in 1534, confirmed by dedicated lives, proved to be the chief instrument that saved most of Europe for the Papacy, and extended its boundaries both East and West. A like spirit of consecration to Christ and His Church today would do much for a divided and distracted world.

Fort Garry United Church,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.
August 20, 1935.

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IGNATIUS LOYOLA

Chapter 1

The Setting for the Struggle

The joys of the world are carnal, vile, deceptive, brief, and transitory. They are won with labor, held with anxiety, and lost with grief. They endure but a little, yet the harm they do is great. They inflate the soul and feed it not, deceive it and sustain it not; and therefore they make it not happier but more wretched, more athirst, more removed from God and itself, and more like to the condition of the beasts.

— *Luis de Granada*

IGNATIUS LOYOLA, Founder and first General of the Society of Jesus, is one of the creative men in history and lived in times that matched his unique career. The sixteenth century witnessed stirring scenes, such as the sack of Rome and the Diet of Worms. Great leaders in both Church and State marched down its years. It nurtured or cradled movements, like the Renaissance and the Reformation, which profoundly altered the currents of human life. In the realms of science and adventure magic casements were opened

that stimulated the imagination and widened the horizons of men. Like the years that immediately preceded it the times were full of colorful activity, not only in Europe, but to the very ends of the earth.

Ignatius Loyola lived amid these amazing days and left a record of unusual and significant achievement. His vision and will slowly created a little body of disciples who wielded from the very beginning an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Through them he influenced the religious policies of princes. By their intrepid zeal he laid hold of distant continents. In their consecrated learning he enlisted and inspired the spirits of countless noble youths. Through their devoted service he steadied the wavering faith of multitudes, and restored many of her erring children to the bosom of the Catholic Church and allegiance to her Pontiff. The creator of such a movement deserves serious attention. In an age of significant transitions his daring innovations for conservative and traditional things gave him a powerful and unique influence.

Great changes had taken place in the kingdoms of Europe prior to his birth. The feudal system had given place to city states and autonomous provinces. Powerful monarchies were in process of formation. England was just beginning its succession of strong rulers. Henry VII, crowned in 1485, had achieved vast wealth by his control of the wool trade, together with his fines and exactions. Through a peerage of his own creation, and a well-equipped standing army, he was independent of Parliament and wielded despotic power. His son, Henry VIII, increased the power of the throne, and a little later the imperious Elizabeth still further added to its prestige.

France, with a powerful and centralized monarchy, had long been in the van of progress, notably in the realm of commerce. The nobles, deprived of their own private armies, had been attached to the Crown. Wealthy merchants constituted a middle class. The peasants were illiterate but submissive. In 1516 a concordat with respect to ecclesiastical patronage was concluded between Francis I and the pope, to their mutual advantage.

Unlike her powerful neighbor Germany was still largely feudalized and disintegrated, but great princes dominated the scene. The law of inheritance had subdivided the land among the sons of the lords, and many of them were little better than robber chiefs. Large estates were held by the Church. Depression had befallen both the mining and agricultural classes through the exploiting of the mineral wealth of the land, providing a fertile soil for *Bundschuh* risings and peasant revolts. Among the artisans, on the other hand, a new sense of power had arisen through the development of their guilds. The free cities of Germany were proud and strong. Sadly lacking to the country was the cohesive power of a capable and continued monarchy.

Italy was also at this time a greatly divided land. Down through the center of the country ran the "States of the Church" that rendered more difficult the unifying of the nation. The great, independent cities were hostile to one another and often torn by internal feuds. Due to the discovery in 1498 of the new route to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, Venice had passed her meridian as a wealthy maritime metropolis, and was at war for a time with the Sultan Suleiman. The soil of Italy was contin-

ually trampled by alien invaders, encouraged by her divisions and tempted by her wealth. In 1511 the Holy League (England, Spain, and Germany), acting under papal direction, drove out the French. But sixteen years later a mixed German and Spanish horde sacked and humbled the Eternal City.

Spain was like France and England in being under a strong monarchy. Isabella, in 1474, succeeded her brother on the throne of Castile. Six years earlier she had been wedded to Ferdinand, and in 1479 he followed his father as King of Aragon. The kingdom thus united longed more ardently than ever for freedom from Moorish dominion. For seven hundred and fifty years the land of the Cid had been the theater of constant struggle with her Moorish conquerors. Under the banner of St. James her hosts had poured forth again and again to expel the invader. Now the slow stages of the reconquest were drawing to a close. The year 1491 saw the final agony of Moslem rule in Spain. Then came the last great act of the long drama, "The appearance of the Christian armies in the Vega of Granada, the success of Baeza, the final onslaught on Granada itself, and that proud second of January, 1492, when the Catholic monarchs rode in triumph into the city."¹ In that same year of national pride and glory, Columbus sailed through "the foam of perilous seas" and flung ajar the gates of the New World.

During those days of emancipated grandeur and thrilling destiny for Spain there was born in her Basque province of Guipuscoa, in the year 1491, Ignatius of Loyola.

At this time the power of the papacy was being sorely

¹ Peers, *Spanish Mysticism*, 5.

pressed. The Moslem menace in the Mediterranean was a cause of grave concern. Serious damage had been done to her traditional philosophy by the questioning spirit of the Renaissance. In some countries, such as England, political and religious issues were mingled to the detriment of the Holy See. Whole nations were being drawn from their allegiance to the pope by the powerful appeal of the Reformation.

For centuries the horns of the Crescent had threatened Europe. In the early days of its rapid and irresistible advance it had passed over Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, and North Africa. It conquered the Spanish Peninsula, crossed the Pyrenees, and by the year A.D. 732 was before Tours. There the Franks, under Carl Martel, were able to arrest its progress. Throughout the long campaigns of the Crusades the religion of Mohammed fought and checked the flower of Christian chivalry. Again set in motion it won Gallipoli in 1338. A century later its repeated assaults on Constantinople were rewarded in 1453. Over the Balkan peninsula it flowed. By 1522 Suleiman was at Rhodes where the Knights of St. John made their last gallant but unavailing stand. Not until 1529 did the gates of Vienna echo the departing footsteps of the invader, when his westward progress was finally stayed and turned.

Flocks of scholars left the city of Constantinople after its fall, and brought to the cities of Europe the New Learning. Arts and Letters flourished. Once more the Scriptures were read in the original tongues. The new discovery of the art of printing helped to broadcast the results of scholarship. A spirit of inquiry awoke and scholastic philosophy was brought under a destructive fire of criticism. All this sense of spacious freedom in the realm of the spirit was reinforced by those his-

toric voyages of the great mariners who sailed around the globe, opened up to sea-borne commerce the marts of the gorgeous East, and in the West discovered "a brave new world."

The causes of the Reformation were not solely religious, neither did they come to a head in a moment. Before Luther nailed his ninety-five Theses to the church door at Wittenberg, the claims and character of the Roman Curia had been evoking protests from many quarters. The scene at Canossa had been enacted, and the intervention of popes in secular matters had been resented by the monarchs of Europe. The spiritual claims, too, were at times a cause of irritation, since "spiritual" was an elastic term that indirectly embraced fields and fences, barns and glebes, as well as clerks in holy orders. The continual flow of money to the Roman treasury from free kingdoms in the form of tithes, annuities, procurations, and dispensations, was an irksome thing to both rulers and peoples.

If the claims of Rome aroused the spirit of revolt, the character of many of her leaders had not helped to ease the situation. Some of the popes who were well disposed to the Renaissance were patrons of art but strangers to true piety. Magnificent vices were often domiciled in the Vatican, and too many of the hierarchy of the Church were corrupt. Vicars of Christ such as Alexander VI were a heavy liability to the Church. When men with a true love for Christ addressed themselves to correcting the prevalent disorders they attempted a heavy and difficult task.

Voices of protest had been raised here and there. Savonarola, though not blameless in his methods, had witnessed against the evil conditions in Florence and paid the extreme forfeit of his life. Four years earlier,

in 1494, John Colet had visited Paris and Italy. On his return to England he began to lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul, and to insist that reformation must begin in the heart of the individual. Rumbles of discontent continued to grow until they found a unifying voice in Martin Luther. It has been pointed out that in the year 1500. Europe was a universal institution, the Roman Catholic Church, but by the middle of the century a line could be drawn through the continent. South of that line, according to the standards of the Church, was orthodoxy and unity. On the north side was heresy and schism, with national churches in many lands.²

Such were some of the perils that threatened the Catholic Church at the dawn of the sixteenth century, but that gray dawn held the promise of a brighter day. All unconsciously one was being prepared to assist the Church against the evil elements that had tended to degrade her. By new conquests he was also destined to restore the balance for losses already sustained. Through the fidelity and ability of his followers his mission of reform and edification was to be carried splendidly forward.

A modern writer has declared that "In the sixteenth century the Pontificate, exposed to new dangers more formidable than had ever before threatened it, was saved by a new religious order, which was animated by intense enthusiasm and organized with exquisite skill. When the Jesuits came to the rescue of the Papacy they found it in extreme peril, but from that moment the tide of battle turned." The Catholic reaction had begun, and the sons of Ignatius were the chief instruments of reform and recovery. Inspired with love to Christ, they were devoted to the

² Van Dyke, *Ignatius Loyola*, 2.

cause of the Church. She might be in need of reform, but that reform should come from within, and not by destruction from without. "In the Order of Jesus was concentrated the quintessence of the Catholic spirit; and the history of the Order of Jesus is the history of the Catholic reaction."

How marvelous was the success so rapidly achieved! A few short years changed the face of Europe and impressed indelibly the New World. "Before the Order had existed a hundred years, it had filled the whole world with memorials of great things done and suffered for the faith. No religious community could produce a list of men so variously distinguished; none had extended its operations over so vast a space; yet in none had there ever been such perfect unity of feeling and action."⁸

This tribute of the English writer is finely matched in a eulogy by a contemporary of Ribadeneira. In a letter written at Venice on the eighth of August, 1586, by Giovanni Giolito de Ferrari, to the Cardinal Gaetano, Ferrari said, "As the infinite Providence of the Redeemer of the world with the greatest wisdom instituted and founded His Holy Church, so with the greatest vigilance He has continually guarded and preserved it from all enemies, and from the assaults of the Evil One and his ministers. . . . The Lord gathered in Paris . . . learned men and most zealous for the Christian religion. He worked through the instrumentality of one Ignatius of Loyola, of the Spanish nation, a man of noble birth and gifted with good qualities. Through him was begun the Order, or Company, of Jesus, which for the space of forty-six years has wrought such profit

⁸ Macauley, *History of England*, I, 549 (Everyman's Edition).

in the service of God that it is now noted throughout the world."⁴

The battle is joined. The field is the world. And on to the field of conflict there debouches a new force of splendid troops to defend the cause of their Mother Church. Their leader is a general in the Church Militant, Ignatius of Loyola.

⁴ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, Introduction.

Chapter 2

The Call to Arms

Who has heard of glory being exchanged for dust? The greatest riches for the greatest poverty? The Divine heights for the depths of humanity? Behold the Man. The cure for all my ills, the Ransomer who pays my debts, whose blood laves my sins, whose price redeems my offenses.

— *Pedro Malon de Chaide*

IGNATIUS sprang from two ancient and noble Spanish families. His father was Don Beltran Yañez de Oñez y Loyola, while his mother was Doña Maria Saenz de Licona y Balda. They had eight sons and five daughters, including a son and daughter who both died in infancy. Iñigo, later known as Ignatius, was the youngest son. According to most authorities he was born in 1491, although in his autobiography he tells us that up to his twenty-sixth year he “had given himself to the vanities of time.” His conversion took place after Pampluna in 1521, so that this would place his birth in 1495. The earlier date, however, is the one most generally accepted. His family was well-to-do, deriving an

income from both estates and ironworks. The Basque province in which Loyola, near the town of Azpeitia, is situated, cradled a brave and hardy race. Their little boats had even crossed the Atlantic to Newfoundland. A strong military spirit was found in the noble families, although they were divided into factions. In order to curb their power the King of Castile found it necessary to destroy twenty-five fortified manors, including the upper story of the castle of Loyola. Today the castle is embodied in a huge structure that contains both a church and a college.

In the family of Ignatius the martial tradition was strong. Seven sons of the house fought in the victory of Beotibar over the Moors in 1321. His own brothers were valorous cavaliers, three of them falling in battle. He himself in early manhood, he tells us, "especially delighted in the exercise of arms, led by a great and vain desire for worldly honor." A powerful friend of Don Beltran and an official at the court of Ferdinand, Juan Velazquez de Cuellar, took the young Ignatius and introduced him to the life of a youthful gallant at the Court. His patron dying in 1518, the young soldier then took service under the banner of Antoine Manrique, Duke of Najera. Three years later there broke out the Castilian revolt of the "Communeros," and the city of Najera rebelled against the Duke. When his army reduced it, Ignatius was one of the first to enter the city. He refused to accept his share of the plunder, revealing the nonmercenary spirit that was later to shine out conspicuously in his Order.

France and Spain had rival claims on Navarre, and Francis I, of France, seized the occasion of the revolt to launch a force of twelve thousand men against Navarre in order to cut it off from Castile. After an attack

on St. Jean Pied de Port the French army proceeded against Pampeluna. The city gates were thrown open, but Ignatius led a determined resistance by the small garrison within the castle. However, on May 20, 1521, a cannon ball fractured his right leg and injured the other. His comrades thereupon capitulated, and the young Spanish soldier became a prisoner of the French. In their ranks were two young men, brothers of a certain Francis Xavier, who in later years was to be a comrade of Ignatius in a more glorious war.

The chivalrous French could not hold captive so gallant a foe. After rendering what aid they could for several days, they finally placed him on a litter and sent him back to his home, some fifty miles away. There he endured great torture, due to the fact that his leg had not been properly set. He insisted on being rebroken and reset; a protruding piece of bone was sawed off; and, finally, it was stretched with heavy weights. His vanity enabled him to bear all this with stoical endurance. Ribadeneira heard him say that he bore the pain of the operations so that he might again be able to wear buskins and wellingtons. This fortitude he matched in later days by his patient endurance of tribulation and suffering for the dear sake of Christ. He was brought very close to death's door at this time, but finally began to recover.

It was now that the young cavalier was recruited by Christ for a different warfare. To while away the long weeks of convalescence he asked for books of romance, such as the popular *Amadis of Gaul*. No books were to be found in the castle save a *Life of Christ* by a Carthusian monk, Rudolph of Saxony, and *The Flowers of the Saints*, both in the vulgar tongue. With great distaste Ignatius started to read them, but they soon

began to grip his mind. The desire arose in him to imitate the life of Jesus and the saints who had followed in His train. Thoughts of spiritual achievements began to replace dreams of chivalrous exploits. The spirit of emulation awoke in him. He said to himself, "How would it be if I do what St. Francis and St. Dominic did? St. Dominic has done this and I ought to do it. St. Francis has done this and I will do it."¹

He began to jot down in a book holy thoughts that came to him, and, finally, he made the great decision. Augustine was won to Christ and the Church when he took up the New Testament in response to the voice that said, "Take up and read" (*Tolle, lege*). A perusal of holy books at a time of physical weakness brought the irresistible challenge to Ignatius and enlisted him in the service of Christ. "It pleased God," said Bartoli, "that this valiant soldier should be carried off from the secular militia to become the chief of a new militia." And the instrument of his conversion, surely one of the ironies of history, was a book from the land of Luther.

In pursuance of the resolve he now formed to live as a hermit and to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Ignatius decided to leave home. In order to avoid the pleadings of his family he went to pay his respects, when his injuries were sufficiently recovered, to his former lord, the Duke of Najera. Thence he made his way to the sanctuary of Montserrat, in Catalonia. Three days he devoted there to his confession, which he made to Fr. Juan de Chanones, a Benedictine. On the eve of the Annunciation, March 24, 1522, he carried out a project that had formed in his mind. When it was dark he divested himself of his rich raiment and gave it later

¹ *Le Récit*, 15.

on to a beggar. He clad himself in coarse, sacklike clothing that he had previously bought, and took his place before the altar of our Lady. There throughout the night he kept his vigil, alternately kneeling and standing in prayer. "He had read that the knights of the new chivalry kept in the church an all-night watch over their armor, and he desired to imitate them." Christ was indeed calling him as captain in His sacred army, and his life of holy warfare had begun.

Very soon he was plunged into his first great conflict, and the battlefield was his own soul. He made his way to Manresa where he was received as a poor man in the hospital of St. Lucy. On the opposite side of the river Cardoner, a cave some twenty feet long and six feet wide, now incorporated in a vast edifice built by his Order, became his oratory and the scene of his lonely conflict. He practiced the most terrible austerities. Seven hours a day were spent in prayer. Thrice a day he unsparingly disciplined himself. He ate the coarsest food given to him as alms, handing on meat or wine to other poor folk. His reputation for saintliness grew in the district, but his mental anguish continued unabated. Once he fasted for a week until his confessor intervened and strictly forbade it. He struggled with the demon for his soul. As he tended the sick in the hospital he thought that he heard the demon's voice:

"What are you doing here, poor Ignatius, in this filth and squalor (*fetor e bassezza*) to assoil the splendor of your family?" Thus the Tempter. Ignatius drew still nearer to the poor and wretched. "How is it possible that you can suffer a life like this, worse than the wild beasts, having to live for sixty years?" Ignatius replied, "Can you assure me of one hour of life? Is it not God

who holds in His hand all the moments and all the time we shall live? What are seventy years of penitence compared to eternity?"²

The struggle long continued with alternations of hope and despair. Realizing the futility of his attempts to win peace, he at length resolved to throw himself completely upon the mercy of God. The hour of crisis was upon him. But he passed through his Gethsemane into the serene peace of the victor, and there he learned of the deep things of God. "His heart was like soft wax so that the divine things within might be impressed upon it." Henceforth, like all the Greathearts, he was qualified to lead the King's pilgrims because he had first won the victory in his own soul. Delivered by God from the assaults of the demon he became an excellent director of souls. His future skill and success in dealing with the souls of men came from his own great wrestlings with the powers of darkness. He could diagnose the spiritual maladies of others because, like St. John of the Cross, he had passed through "The dark night of the soul," and had emerged into the radiance of the new day. He was able to help others who were troubled by infirmity and doubt because "God did not prove Ignatius for himself alone, but for our good for whom he made that hard test. The Lord wishes all His soldiers to be proved and tested. Much more does He demand it from those who are to be guides and captains of others."

A wise guide and a faithful captain Ignatius was to be. It might be true, as was said of him, that our Lord had elected him as captain and leader of one of the squadrons of His Church; but Ignatius him-

² Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 31.

self had responded wholeheartedly, thus making his calling and election sure. Clearly and distinctly there had sounded in his soul the trumpet call of God, and with ready and complete surrender Ignatius answered the call to arms.

Chapter 3

The First Recruits

Let us enter into the bondage of His Love, since He entered into that of ours, and became as a meek lamb before His oppressors. This bondage it was which bound Him to the Cross, for greater and stronger far were the ties and bonds of our love, than the ropes and nails with which men constrained His body as love constrained His heart. Wherefore let our hearts be bound with His Love — the very bond of salvation — and let us desire no freedom which shall loose us from such bondage.

— *Juan de Avila*

IGNATIUS had answered the call to arms but so far the struggle had been waged in the arena of his own heart. He did not yet dream of the great role that awaited him as organizer and captain of the fighting forces of the Roman Catholic Church. But even now he was not entirely wrapped in self. Besides his own daily wrestlings after holiness in his long vigils of prayer, he tells us that he “aided certain souls in spiritual things.”

During the later months that he spent at Manresa he began to dream of aggressive work for God. When writing the Constitutions years afterwards he said that he had seen them at Manresa. Certain thoughts concerning God and his future work were indelibly imprinted upon his mind during one especially notable vision that he saw beside the river Cardoner. In the spring of 1523 he left for Barcelona, sailed for Rome, made his way to Venice, and thence to Jerusalem. Perils and hardships he encountered all the way. He was prevented from carrying out his intention of remaining at Jerusalem and returned to Barcelona, where he found his first recruits. While he is still a captain without a company, Ignatius himself may be observed more closely.

Various great leaders in different fields of human activity have been men of small stature. The Apostle Paul, Immanuel Kant, and Napoleon were of this number, and so also was Ignatius. He stood not quite five feet and two inches in height. As a youth at Court he was a handsome and attractive gallant. He had a fine head of hair of which, like Absalom, he was very proud and careful. For a time the ascetic at Manresa superseded the fastidious Spanish gentleman, and his hair, like the rest of his person, was sadly neglected. It is of his appearance in later years that we have the best description. Bartoli pictures him as of middling stature, an air majestic, a noble countenance, his usual expression grave and thoughtful. He had an olive complexion, eyes brilliant and penetrating, and forehead high and wide. He was bald, and in his walk could be slightly perceived the effects of the wounds received at Pampeluna. A recent writer puts it more tersely, "He was a little man, with broad, bald, unwrinkled

brow, and deep-set, deep-seeing eyes, a grave aspect, and distinction of carriage.”¹

It rather strikingly recalls the traditional picture of the Apostle Paul as given in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, a writing of the third century. Paul is there described as “short, bald, bow-legged, with meeting eyebrows, hook-nosed, and full of grace.” The personal reference of the Apostle in his letter to the *Corinthians* that his bodily presence was weak (*asthenes*) reminds us also of the epithet once bestowed upon Ignatius, when a certain dissolute gentleman was greatly enraged at being reproved for his manner of life by a “little vile man” (*huomicciuolo vile*).

There is a further arresting parallel between the appearance of the two men if those scholars are correct who think that St. Paul’s “stake in the flesh” was some ophthalmic trouble that caused weakness and disfigurement of the eyes. The eyes of Ignatius in his later years, his young disciple tells us, were so gravely affected that he could do little reading. This trouble was brought on by excessive weeping, due to the melting of his heart at devotions and at the times when he celebrated the Mass. The fathers at length secured from the pope a dispensation that excused Ignatius from the recitation of his *Breviary*. In his description of the personal appearance of Ignatius, Ribadeneira again refers to his weakened sight when he speaks of his eyelids drooping (*contratta*) and wrinkled, because of the many tears that he continually shed. Despite this, however, “The appearance of his face was joyously grave and gravely joyous, so that with his serenity he brought joy to all who looked upon him, and with his gravity great edification.”

¹ Sedgwick, *Ignatius Loyola*, 321.

The sweet dignity of Ignatius's appearance seems to have impressed greatly all who knew him. One of his close friends declared that "His face shone with such brilliancy that even if a skillful painter had succeeded in delineating his features, he would not have found colors to render truthfully the bright radiance of his countenance." A gracious influence truly apostolic was diffused by his presence. Gonzales, who wrote his *Confessions*, testified that the very look and aspect of Ignatius enkindled and notably inflamed him with the love of God (*la composizione e l'aspetto di lui, l'accendeva, e notabilmente l'abbruciava nell'amor di Dio*).²

Very suggestive and significant was the tribute paid to Ignatius in Alcala. He was unjustly imprisoned at the time, and received a visit from Novero, Professor of Holy Scripture at the University. Returning late to his waiting class of students the teacher remarked, "I have seen Paul in chains."³

The Church has been enriched through the ages by the devoted service of men who possessed in great measure the military virtues. In the second century Tertullian, "to whom Christianity was above everything a militia," wrote *The Soldier's Crown* (*De corona militis*), and in his earlier days fortified the Church against the Gnostic heresy. In that militant succession Ignatius achieved an honored place. As his brother Martin told him, a fine soldier was lost to the world when he enlisted in the militia of Christ.

His first recruits he won at Barcelona. To fit himself for the service of God he there began, at the age of thirty-three, the studies that he pursued, more or less steadily, for the next eleven years. Ardebalo, a

² Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 509.

³ Bartoli, *Life*, I, 133.

teacher of Latin, furnished him with free tuition, while some noble ladies provided his sustenance. True to his determined vocation, he sought the edification of his neighbor's soul, as well as his own. Three young men attached themselves to him, attracted by his spirit and unselfish life. They were Calixto de Sa, Juan de Arteaga, and Lope de Caceres. When he left for Alcala, on the advice of his teacher, they went with him and were joined by Juan de Reinalde, a French youth. They all dressed in a garb of coarse stuff until the Inquisition forbade them. Calixto, especially, shared in the trials that befell Ignatius both here and later at Salamanca. None of them went with Ignatius to Paris, however, after he was released at Salamanca, nor did they rejoin him later. Calixto went to the Indies, but afterwards returned to Spain. Caceres went back into the world. Arteaga became a bishop in the Indies, where he was accidentally poisoned. The first Company of Ignatius had not remained faithful.

Arriving at Paris on the second of February, 1528, Ignatius began to look for other companions, although he then expected his former group to rejoin him. By the next year he won to a life of evangelical poverty three noble young Spaniards, Juan de Castro, Pedro de Peralto, and Amador. All three gave their wealth to the poor and went to the hospital of St. Jaques, determined to live on alms. A great stir was made throughout the city by their friends and relatives. Being unable to persuade the youths to alter their mode of life they went to the hospital with an armed mob. The young men were forced to return to the university, and were at length weaned from their allegiance to Ignatius. Peralto afterwards went to Jerusalem, and Castro returned to Spain where he became a Carthu-

sian monk. The second Company of Ignatius had failed to stand steadfast.

Elect souls do not know the meaning of failure, because they refuse to accept defeat. A later disciple declared in a letter to Gaspard Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo, that "The Founder of this Order was such as a man should be who was elected by God to plant and found in His Church so great a work."⁴ In the same year, 1529, Ignatius met two choice spirits who were to become the first recruits of a new and permanent Company. They were Peter Faber, from Savoy, and Francis Xavier, from Navarre. Two brilliant young Spaniards, James Lainez and Alfonso Salmeron, joined him in 1532. A little later Simon Rodriguez, whom the King of Portugal was supporting in his studies, attached himself to the group. Another young Spaniard, Nicholas Alfonso, or Bobadilla, did the same shortly afterwards, completing the group of seven, including their leader.

These young men, devoted to Christ and alive to the needs of the world, decided first to complete their theological studies. When that was accomplished, they further planned to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, an intention some of them had cherished before meeting Ignatius, and afterwards to give themselves to apostolic work. Delighting in their mutual fellowship as a band of Christian brothers, they determined to take a vow that would bind them still more closely together. It would also embody their devotion to a life of poverty, chastity, and apostolic labors. They met together at the chapel of St. Denis, at Montmartre, on the fifteenth of August, 1534. Faber, who had been ordained a month before, was the only priest in the

⁴ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, Preface.

group and celebrated Mass. When he had received the vows of his companions, and made his own, they partook of Holy Communion. After a simple meal the rest of the day was passed in holy and joyous fellowship. Within the next two years there were added to this group of seven, three others, Claude Le Jay, of Savoy, Paschase Broet, from Bretancourt, and Jean Codure, from Provence.

Rarely has the world seen a finer group of young men than these ten Fathers who formed the beginning of the Company of Jesus. Like the little group who became the first disciples of Jesus they were destined more fully than they then imagined for "apostolic labors," for perils and privations also, and for glorious achievement. In brilliant scholarship, in fervent eloquence, in deep and utter devotion, scarcely could they be matched by any similar company in the history of the Christian Church. Quietly and prayerfully they now awaited the call to active service when they could "endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ."

Chapter 4

The Manual of Discipline

Let a man imprison himself within his own self, in the center of his soul, wherein is the image of God, and there let him wait upon Him, as one listens to another speaking from some high tower, or as though he had Him within his heart, and as if in all creation there were no other thing save God and his soul.

— *San Pedro de Alcantara*

ONE of the great formative books of modern times is the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola. Almost unknown to the Protestant world, it has exercised upon both clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic Church an incalculable influence. A modern writer has said that if we would study Roman Catholicism as an organization between the years 1520 to 1700 we must study the Council of Trent; but if we would understand it as a religion then we must study the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. It displays at its best the practical realism of the Spanish mystics with its marked avoidance of the abstractions of metaphysics. Those

doctors of the soul were "skilled practical psychologists, superb directors of the consciences of individual souls, and well able to throw their experiences into works which appeal no less to the many than to the few."¹ Their mysticism is "intensely fervid, realistic and personal." These qualities we find in the *Spiritual Exercises*, save for the *Constitutions*, the only book from the pen of Ignatius.

Written before he had any followers, or even any definite thoughts of such a possibility, it became the manual of discipline through which every soldier of the Company of Jesus was to pass. It reflects the agitations and struggles of his own soul, begun at Loyola and continued at Manresa, as he fought his way through to peace. He told Gonzales that it was not all written at one time. Things that he had observed and found useful in his own soul he thought might be helpful to others, and so he put them into writing. The section on Choices was drawn from a diversity of spirits and thoughts at Loyola while suffering with his leg.² He made the first draft of the book at Manresa, although he was constantly revising it for years, until it was finally approved by Pope Paul III in 1548.

Manresa was responsible for the main body of the work. Most vividly does it reflect the terrific combats that he there waged for his soul. Like the sinless One who was driven by the Spirit into the wilderness, like another who conferred not with flesh and blood before his retirement into Arabia, Ignatius secluded himself from intercourse with the world. He could not face with confidence his life task until he had fought and won in the arena of his own heart. What a battlefield

¹ Peers, *Spanish Mysticism*, 41.

² *Le Récit*, 101.

was that, with its pitched conflicts between the powers of darkness and of light. Discouragement, depression, and defeat alternated with hope, exultation, and victory. Demons and angels, Satan and Christ, waged the age-long combat for a human soul. The body suffered as fastings, vigils, and scourgings were flung into the fray, with the result that he carried in his body to the day of his death the scars of battle. But this "captain of the wars" by the mercy of God and the grace of Christ emerged at length victorious. Henceforth other pilgrims facing Apollyon and the Valley of the Shadow could profit by his experience.

Ignatius wrote out of the stress of his own soul, but he himself had been indebted to others. An earlier book of Spiritual Exercises had been published in the year 1500. Doubtless Ignatius derived much profit from it for his own life, but it is no more evident in his book than Holinshed's *Chronicles* in the *Macbeth* of Shakespeare. The writer of these Exercises was Garcia Jimenez de Cisneros. He came from Valladolid to Montserrat in 1493, revived the spiritual life of the monastery, and ruled as Abbot until his death in 1510. He wrote his book of *Exercises for the Spiritual Life* (*Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual*) for his own community and for pilgrims who came to the shrine of Our Lady.³ The original was written in Spanish, but it was published in both Spanish and Latin in 1500, and won immediate recognition. When Ignatius was at the monastery in 1522 it is very likely that he read and absorbed the book. Most certainly it must have strengthened, if it did not originate, the impulse that finally produced his own independent work.

Cisneros declares that a soul without fixed exercises

³ Cisneros, *Exercises*, Preface.

is like a house with its doors open; vagrant thoughts can enter and depart at will. Regular exercise, on the other hand, becomes second nature and insures greater progress in spiritual things. He teaches that the Exercises must be taken with due moderation and must be adapted to each individual case. Ignatius insured both of these when he provided for a skilled Director under whom his Exercises are to be followed. The Abbot outlines a series of exercises to extend for a period of three weeks.

The first week deals with the Purgative Way and includes Sin, Death, Hell, Judgment, the Passion of Christ, Our Lady, and the Glory of Heaven. The Illuminative Way of the second week treats of creation, reconciliation, vocation, justification, God's gifts, God's government and glorification. In the Unitive Way followed during the third week the soul dwells on God as the beginner of things, the beauty, glory and lover of the world, its Ruler, Governor, and Giver.⁴ Ignatius also has a place for meditation on punishment for sin, the Passion of Christ, and other themes, but he aims to produce a definite choice by the will while the Abbot leads only to the contemplative life. He is the crusader enlisting and drilling his troops, instead of the holy recluse seeking closer union with God.

Vital subjects such as the Foundation, the Kingdom, the Particular Examen, the Election, Discernment of Spirits, Thinking with the Church, all lacking in the earlier book, are of profound importance for Ignatius. Cisneros had owed much to earlier mystical writers like Gerhard Zerbolt, who belonged to the Brothers of the Common Life. Thomas à Kempis also belonged to the same brotherhood, but although Ignatius read

⁴ Cisneros, *Exercises*, 62 f., 104 f., 140 f.

daily *The Imitation of Christ* the *Spiritual Exercises* are the offspring of his own vigorous and original mind.

“Man’s chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever,” declares the *Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly* of 1647. Strikingly similar is the Principle and Foundation that Ignatius laid down a century earlier as the basis of his Exercises. “Man was created to praise (*alabar*, extol or glorify), do reverence to, and serve God our Lord, and thereby to save his soul.”⁵ Both foolish and futile is the life that is not reaching out toward that end. Ignatius seeks to make the soul both willing and able to achieve its true destiny. His Spiritual Exercises are planned for four weeks, although the time can be lengthened or shortened as the need of the individual may determine.

Sin is the subject of the first week. Its nature and punishment are vividly dwelt on, and the exercitant is bidden actually to see, hear, smell, and feel the torment of the lost. The particular examen is directed to the uprooting of each individual sin, one by one, from the soul. The rules for the discernment of spirits are drawn largely from Ignatius’ own spiritual agitations at Loyola and Manresa. Sometimes he had feelings of consolation, at other times he was cast into desolation. Gradually he began to distinguish between the voice of the demon and the voice of God. “When he made the Exercises he began to draw on these things.” To know the siren voice of evil is a great step forward in emancipation from sin. Toward this great end the Exercises of the first week are especially directed.

The second is the great and crucial week in the Exercises. Meditation is made on the life of the Redeemer up to the Passion Week, but there come in also the Kingdom of Christ, the Two Standards, and the Elec-

⁵ *Spiritual Exercises*, 18.

tion. An earthly king "to whom all Christian princes and all Christian men pay reverence and obedience" calls upon his subjects to share with him labor and hardships in the conquest of the infidel. The man who refused would be worthy of scornful reproach (*vituperado*) from the whole world, and held to be a recreant knight (*y tenido por perverso caballero*).⁶ How much more shameful to refuse the call of Christ. The generous soul will make a full surrender saying, "Eternal Lord of all things, I make my offering with Thy favor and aid before Thine infinite goodness — to imitate Thee in bearing all injuries, all reproach and all poverty, as well actual as spiritual, if Thy Most Sacred Majesty shall wish to choose and receive me to such a life and state."⁷ Twice each day this solemn exercise is to be made.

Even stronger is the inner compulsion of the Two Standards, for here the King is actually in the field. "Christ our Lord takes His stand in a great plain of that region of Jerusalem, in a lowly place, fair and gracious."⁸ Thence, as in the sixth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, He sends out His servants and friends on an expedition of salvation. Opposed to Him is the bandit chief (*el caudillo*) of all the enemies, Lucifer. In the great plain of Babylon he is seated, as it were, in a sort of big chair of fire and smoke (*una grande cathedra de fuego y humo*), a horrid and terrible figure. He also sends out his servants, scattering his convocation of countless demons all over the world. Using snares and nets they are to tempt men with riches, vain honors, and swollen pride, to all the other vices. "This exercise is to be made at midnight, and then again in the

⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

morning. And there shall be made two repetitions of the same, at the hour of Mass and at the hour of vespers." Once more the soul is prepared for the solemn choice of the Election.

When God draws my soul to Himself, when I have clear light from consolations, or when I can dispassionately consider the end of man, are excellent times for a good Election. To put before myself the thing to be chosen, to ask God to move my soul aright, and to decide in the light of reason, are all excellent aids to a right choice. Then, if I choose as if for another man in my place, as if on my deathbed, or as in the light of the judgment day, I shall surely offer to God in prayer my Election.⁹

This is the great climax in the Exercises, and if the soul is free from impeding ties such as marriage, State or business relationships, or any other barrier, an entrance to a life of service in the ranks of the Company is frequently the actual result. The Company has been constantly recruited from those who have passed through the rigorous spiritual discipline of the Exercises.

The Election is made, the soul is sworn to Christ, and during the third week it follows Him through the unfolding stages of His Passion. From Bethany to the Last Supper, from Gethsemane to the Cross, the disciple treads humbly and reverently in the footsteps of the One who set the supreme example of electing to serve to the utmost the will of God. "It is the way the Master went, should not the servant tread it still?"

In the fourth week the soul, confirmed and quickened, is prepared to rise with the risen Saviour into the life that is hid with Christ in God. This is not merely

⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

to lay hold on external life, but chiefly to fight the good fight of faith. The exercitant is not a hermit but a knight-errant. He therefore accompanies the Captain of his salvation, victorious now over the powers of death and darkness, through the appearances of the Forty Days. After a period of contemplation on God's love, and exercise in the gift of prayer, he at length emerges as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. That also meant to Ignatius a good soldier of the Roman Catholic Church.

He therefore fitly closes the Exercises with Rules for "the true sentiments which we ought to hold in the Church Militant." First of all, "We ought to hold our mind ready and prompt to obey in all things the true Spouse of Christ our Lord, which is our holy Mother, the hierarchical Church."¹⁰ In harmony therewith we shall praise the things found in her, confession, sacraments, vows, fasts, Superiors, doctrines, etc. Without actually naming it, Ignatius then refers to the teaching of the leaders of the Protestant Reformation. Since this part of the Spiritual Exercises was written late he had now come into contact with their doctrines, and he sounds a note of warning lest they be too easily and readily accepted. He teaches, therefore, that we must be careful in speaking of predestination, lest we encourage laxity of faith and become remiss in works; of grace, lest we make it to mean the loss of liberty; and of love, if we do not retain that filial fear of God "which is wholly acceptable and grateful to God our Lord as it is at one with love divine" (*en uno con el amor divino*).¹⁰

This, in brief, is an outline of the famous Exercises, "the work of a mystic acutely conscious of the reality

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 220-225.

of God and His overwhelming claim upon the soul. . . . A spiritual drill, directed to a definite result; but a drill which implies and rests on a profound and vivid understanding of the business of the soul. . . . The aim accomplished with a precision on which the modern psychologist could hardly improve, and which none but a practical mystic could achieve."¹¹ The wheel has come full circle: Man who was created to praise, reverence, and serve God, realizes his true destiny when he reaches mystical union with Love Divine.

A guide who had been over the road was both profitable and necessary to any soul making the Exercises for the first time. A brief Directory was drawn up by Ignatius as a help to all who should so act. This was used as the basis of the *Directorium in Exercitia*, the official body of instruction for those who should give the Exercises. The first edition, printed in 1591, was corrected and put into final form in 1599 by command of General Claudio Acquaviva.¹² It declares the Spiritual Exercises to stand in the front rank as an instrument that God in His goodness gave to the Society, to further their own and their neighbor's salvation and perfection. The Director is to awaken the desire to be helped, and to gently persuade. Only to a select few will the whole course be given. He who would make the Exercises must understand how great are the affairs of the soul; leave himself free for an adequate period of time; trust in the clemency of God; and surrender himself wholly to his guide. Five hours daily he must spend in meditation, at midnight, dawn, noon, afternoon, and evening. Following the first week of the Exercises the direction is given by St. Ignatius: "During the

¹¹ Evelyn Underhill, *Mystics of the Church*, 170 f.

¹² Longridge, *Preface to Directorium*.

second week, and so henceforth, it greatly helps to read occasionally out of the *Imitation of Christ*, or the Gospels, or the *Lives of the Saints*."

The Director must be well versed in spiritual things, alert, prudent, and with a note of authority. At least once a day he must visit the exercitant and receive an account of his progress. He should let the novice discover the meaning of the Exercises for himself, giving only slight explanations as an aid. Never must he omit the Exercises of the first week, which lead to penitence. He will use his judgment as to the amount of time to be given to each part of the Exercises. Especially for the Election will he need to use the utmost skill. When the desired result has been attained he will cherish the good seed, guarding it from both birds and thorns.

Such are the Spiritual Exercises, given to the world by the young, converted, Spanish soldier. Many criticisms have been directed at them through the years, but in some cases a little historical imagination would have supplied a correction. Ignatius lived in the world of the sixteenth century, at the period of the finest flowering of mysticism in Spain. The Exercises do not induce the ecstasy of the mystic by mathematical rules, but they do seek to call out the interior powers of the soul, reinforced by the grace of God. Neither do they make the novice perfect in a month. If perfection were so easily attained it would be superfluous for the members of the Company to repeat them at intervals through life. Undoubtedly they do powerfully reinforce the finest ideals of the soul, and bring the life more consistently up to the level of its highest moments. It is true that the Director has great influence over a surrendered soul, but so has any friend to whom one unbosoms the intimate secrets of life. As for the

suggestion that they result in a sort of hypnotic suppression or destruction of personality, it is only necessary to think of the many acute and powerful minds that have gone through them into larger and richer service for God and a needy world.

In the days of Ignatius the wonderfully changed lives that they produced, and usually in seclusion, may have suggested to some minds the use of magic. The effective retort was given by one who was asked if he had been shown monsters and devils: "They showed me worse," said he, "they showed me myself." From the vision of the sinful self to the ideal cherished by God for the individual, what St. Peter called "the secret man of the heart" (*ho kruptos anthropos tes kardias*, I Epistle 3:4), is the path trodden in the Exercises. And not merely is a state of grace the goal, but "the heroism of virtue"; not cloistered sanctity, but victorious combat, clad in the panoply of God.

That inspiration by the Holy Spirit assisted Ignatius in the writing of the Exercises may be affirmed or denied. Obviously, no one but the Holy Spirit can give the definite answer. Yet we may argue from the circumstances and the effects produced. It is at least remarkable that a young gallant from court and camp should produce such a work. He was not entirely ignorant of letters, in fact, he had even written some verse. But Ignatius was no schoolman, and of theology he was ignorant, and yet his book shows deep psychological and spiritual insight. Based on keen self-observation and analysis during his own experiences he became aware of the value of bodily postures, such as standing and kneeling, to reinforce mental attitudes. The faithful exercitant emerges stamped with a deep

sense of the heinous reality of sin, and the glorious certainty of God's redeeming love.

The acid test of time and experience determines the value of any book, and through four hundred years the Spiritual Exercises have proved their abiding worth. Ignatius began to use them early in his own ministry. He gave them at Alcala, and many reached a deeper knowledge of God, and acquired an abiding taste for spiritual things. At Venice he gave them to great numbers including Hozes, who feared to take them for some time. Opening his heart to Ignatius he was fully reassured, drew notable profit from them, and with ardor decided to follow Ignatius' way of life.¹³ At an earlier date Ignatius had won and united the companions in Paris with the Exercises, before they took the vows at Montmartre. A later recruit could declare, "The foundation of our Company must be attributed to the use of the Exercises. All the first fathers went through them to elect and follow this way of life."

Jerome Nadal refused the first challenge of Ignatius, but ten years later a letter written by Xavier in the Indies made a powerful appeal to him. He went to Rome and there made the Exercises with Ignatius. On the eighteenth day he was conquered, after great agony, by the Two Standards, and made a full surrender. He declared, "It is with my whole soul, my whole power, and my whole will that I bind myself with these vows. To God be the glory, Amen."¹⁴

Dr. Ortiz, ambassador of the Emperor Charles V at Rome, made the Exercises with Ignatius at the monastery of Monte Cassino for the full month. He was pre-

¹³ *Le Récit*, 94.

¹⁴ Bartoli, *Life*, I, 181.

vented by age from becoming a member, but for the rest of his life he was a warm friend of the Company, and full of gratitude to Ignatius for spiritual blessing received.

These amazing results were not due solely to the personality of Ignatius, as was amply attested when his followers began to use them. Faber became a skilled director of souls. He regenerated the city of Parma. In Germany he was unable to handle the great numbers who wished to take the Exercises under him. In a letter from Ratisbon of June 8, 1541, the pope was informed that "No small benefit has accrued from the Exercises. Some who were falling are now strengthened, and some who had fallen away are now restored."¹⁵ Equally notable fruit was obtained by others. Lainez had a wonderful time of spiritual refreshing at Placentia. By them Broet and Rodriguez reformed both clergy and people in Siena. Marvelous results were obtained in Spain. And all over Europe the same scenes were witnessed. Clergy were reformed, convents restored, cities purged, the sacraments were again frequented, and to an attentive people was preached the Word.

Nor did Ignatius fail to make provision that they should be equally available and effective in future years. He wished his sons to move familiarly in the Exercises, as in a spiritual armory. For those college students who were looking forward to active spiritual work he enjoins, "Let them accustom themselves to communicate their spiritual exercises to others, when each has experienced them in himself; and let all be diligent not only to give an explanation of them, but also to acquire a readiness in wielding this kind of spiritual arms (*et in hoc armorum spiritualium genere*

¹⁵ Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. XII, p. 103.

*tractando dexteritatem habere possint) which by the grace of God is felt to contribute so largely to His service."*¹⁶

That the use of "this kind of spiritual arms" has not been neglected is evident on a visit to Enghien, Belgium. The College of Theology of the Jesuit Fathers there has an Ignatian library, in which are several thousand volumes, by different authors, treating exclusively of the Spiritual Exercises.

We may notice briefly, although it is outside our immediate period, how the use of the Spiritual Exercises has become almost universal throughout the Roman Catholic Church. They were the first published work of the Society, and Andres des Freux, then secretary to Ignatius, translated them into Latin for that purpose. The Holy See, in a Bull of Pope Paul III, 1548, approved and praised them, and enjoined their use upon the faithful. Many of the religious Orders have adopted the custom of making them at stated times, and they are annually given to large numbers of the secular clergy, to candidates for Orders, and others,¹⁷ so that they have indeed, to quote Pastor, "Exercised on their own Order, and the Catholic priesthood generally, an influence of a powerfully pronounced character." The early suspicions at Salamanca and Paris have given place to enthusiastic adoption.

In the ranks of the laity great fruit has also been found. Many have made them with a great quickening to their spiritual life as the result. Retreats and missions are held throughout the Church each year. They are attended by tens of thousands, and although the full

¹⁶ *Constitutiones*, IV, VIII, 5.

¹⁷ Astrain, *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*, p. 17.

course is not usually given at such gatherings their message is based on the Spiritual Exercises. Through them the solitary and victorious contender in the lists at Manresa has furnished for the Church at large, and particularly for his sons, an effective and fruitful manual of spiritual discipline.

Chapter 5

The Roll Call

It is needful that being many persons, as in fact we are, nevertheless by reason of the same Spirit which dwells in our hearts, and of that same and only food which sustains us, we should all be one in the Divine Body and Spirit, and closely united with each other both in body and spirit.

— *Luis de Leon*

THE splendid fellowship of consecrated young men gathered by Ignatius at the University of Paris had dedicated their lives to the lofty purpose of devoting themselves not only to their own spiritual development, but also to the welfare and salvation of their neighbor. For a time, however, they were now deprived of their leader. Ill health interrupted the studies of Ignatius the year after they took the vows at Montmartre and sent him home to recuperate. He left for Spain in April, 1535, and during his stay at home he made a deep impression by his ardent efforts to effect among the people an abiding religious reform. After a visit of three months he bade a last farewell to his native place.

Before they could give themselves finally to the religious life, some of his companions had to make business arrangements and adjustments at home. These they had requested Ignatius to attend to when he left for Spain, and he now proceeded to their homes for that purpose. He went in turn to Navarre, Almazonus, and Toledo, and attended to the affairs respectively of Xavier, Lainez, and Salmeron. These duties performed, he traveled to Venice to await his companions from Paris, who finally arrived in January, 1537.

It was not long before there arose the question of a name by which they might be known to the world, and Ignatius had a name ready for his men. It was an age of military companies in Europe, and any who wanted mercenaries could hire them. Ignatius had decided that his men should be a free and mobile Company in the service of Christ. Other Orders had perpetuated the names of their founders, but he was indifferent to such fame. His thoughts were fixed on his crucified Lord and the Company of Jesus was the name he had chosen. "Our Lord had impressed this sacred name on his heart," declared one of his followers, "and he could not think of any other." He would not change it or abandon it for anyone unless by order of the pope. "Ignatius always remained firm to preserve it," said Polanco. It went back to the challenge of the Two Standards, seen by Ignatius at Manresa and embodied in the Spiritual Exercises. They were militia of Christ to battle for God under the banner of the Cross (*sub crucis vexillo Deo militare*), and to die fighting in His service.

Much opposition to the name arose in certain quarters, notably from the Sorbonne in Paris. Some declared it to be a mark of pride and presumption. It persisted,

however, despite all criticism, although in the Bull of Institution it is Latinized into the "Society of Jesus." First used as a term of reproach the word "Jesuit" was never accepted by Ignatius. Like the "Christians" in Antioch, the "Beggars" in Holland, and the "Methodists" in Oxford, the nickname finally became a badge of honor, and was so worn by the members. It was John Calvin who gave it a vogue when he referred to the "Anabaptists and such rabble (*telle racaille*) as are the Jesuits and other sects."¹

But much earlier the word had been used in another connection, as a recent writer reminds us. In the *Examen of Conscience* in a German prayer book of 1519 the penitent is bidden to ask himself, "Did I omit to teach the Word of God through fear of being called a Pharisee, Jesuit, hypocrite, or Benaguine?" Two centuries earlier the members of an Order under Jean Columbino had been known as *Jesuati*. And in the *Life of Christ* written about the year 1350 by Rudolph of Saxony, the book that aroused Ignatius from his romantic slumbers, the author wrote: "As we are called Christians when baptized, so may we be called Jesuits when we enter into glory."²

The members learned to glory in their name. While they did not wish to imply that others were not also sincere followers of Jesus, they felt that in an especial sense He had been taken for their Leader. While they loved, revered, and obeyed implicitly their founder and first General, he himself had instilled into them that their real Captain was Christ. In the lonely labors in distant lands that so many of them undertook, while

¹ J. Cretineau-Joly, *Histoire*, I, 85.

² T. J. Campbell, S.J., *The Jesuits*, I, f.

they wrote with filial joy to Ignatius, it was the sense of Christ's presence that sustained them. Thus it was that when the arm of flesh was withdrawn their faith was not lost, nor were their hearts dismayed. On the death of Ignatius, Ribadeneira wrote from Ghent to a friend: "I should have felt my heart break, if in raising my eyes to the Father whom I regretted, and toward that divine Providence in which he always trusted, I had not felt myself wonderfully consoled by the recollection that the Company of Jesus did not rest upon Ignatius, but upon Jesus Himself."³

And how those first Fathers proved themselves to be worthy of their name! How they took "pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake!" By the purity of their lives, the fervor of their teaching, their care for the youth around them, their tending of the poor and the sick, they won multitudes in the cities of Europe. And "in perils by the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness," they labored for the salvation of souls. Nor did their efforts lack either fruit or recognition.

A century later the great French divine and orator, Jacques Bossuet, attended in youth one of their schools at Dijon. Later he drew away from them, largely because he followed St. Augustine in stressing Divine grace, while Ignatius emphasized the importance of the human will. Nevertheless, Bossuet paid them a magnificent tribute in his third sermon on the Circumcision, "And you, celebrated Company, who bear not in vain the name of Jesus, in whom grace has inspired this great duty of leading the children of God from tenderest years to the maturity of a perfect man

* Bartoli, I, 342.

in Christ Jesus, to whom God has given doctors, apostles, evangelists, in order to blazon throughout the universe, and through least known lands, the glory of the Gospel . . . receive the benediction of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.”⁴ Lofty praise indeed is this to his boyhood instructors from the “Eagle of Meaux.”

A group of young men such as Ignatius won and banded together into the Company, is worthy of at least brief, individual notice. When Dr. Ortiz introduced the companions to the pope on their first visit to Rome, His Holiness was “happy to find so much erudition united with so much piety.” And a fine example of that splendid combination was found in Peter Faber (Pierre Lefevre), the first member of the Company. When Ignatius began his studies in philosophy at Paris, he found the subject difficult, and was advised to seek the help of Faber, who had completed the course.

Born in Savoy, in 1506, of humble, but pious peasant stock, Faber had early felt drawn toward study and religion. At the age of twelve he made a vow of chastity. After some schooling at home he went as a youth of nineteen to Paris. When he met with Ignatius he was passing through a severe spiritual struggle which finally led him to open his heart to his new friend. Out of his own experience Ignatius was able to help him and they became comrades for life.

The death of his mother took Faber home, but fortified with his father’s blessing he returned to Ignatius. Through the Spiritual Exercises he found peace. Later he was ordained and it was he who celebrated the Mass when the vows were made at Montmartre. From then until his death, twelve years afterwards, he was one of

⁴ Cretineau-Joly, I, 86.

the most fruitful workers in the Company. Ignatius declared that no one could equal Faber in giving the Spiritual Exercises. He won Francis Borgia and Peter Canisius, pillars of the Company in Spain and Germany. He was employed by the pope to teach the Scriptures at Sapienza, and was also sent by him to Piacenza with Lainez.

Together with Araoz he accompanied the daughter of King John III from Portugal to Spain, when she went to wed the prince, Don Philip. He forwarded the founding of the colleges at Valladolid and Gandia. He was in attendance at the Diet of Worms in 1540, and later was at the Council of Trent. Recalled to Rome by the pope in the heat of the summer, Ignatius would have excused him, because he had been sick. "It is necessary to obey but not to live," was the reply of the gentle but indomitable spirit. He reached Rome and a few days later, on August 1, 1546, his tireless labors and his fruitful life were ended.

His death is described in a letter written at Ignatius' direction to Fr. Batholomew Ferronius, at Coimbra. In it the writer says: "We cannot but rejoice that while such a guide (Ignatius) should remain to us here on earth, another should go hence, a second forerunner and faithful intercessor of the Society, the Rev. Master Peter Faber, of happy memory, who on his own day of St. Peter, the first of August, was, at the bidding of the Lord, loosed from the bonds of this death, passing away happily in the Lord (*jubente Domino, solutus est a vinculo mortis hujus, feliciter obiens in Domino*) just as Master John Codure, our first forerunner, died also on his own feast day, that of the beheading of John the Baptist. Their souls are together in heaven, their bodies side by side in Santa Maria della Strada, and so they

abide with us in Rome. . . . He was visited with tertian fever for a week, and at last, on the first of August, as I have said, on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, after Confession on the Saturday night, and Mass, Communion, and Extreme Unction on the Sunday morning, between None and Vespers, in presence of all of us that were in the house, and many of the devout faithful in our Lord, with many signs of sorrow for his life past, and hope for the eternal life before him, he gave up his soul to his Creator and Lord.”⁵

His sweet and gracious spirit, his ever-present solicitude for the Company, and his abiding sense of fellowship with God, rendered his memory a fragrant one among his brethren. “He had the keys of other hearts in talking of divine things. A sweet gravity and solid virtue shown through his words. God communed with and rendered happy his soul.”⁶

A roommate of Faber in Paris, the second of the sons of Ignatius, and in some respects the greatest of them all, was Francis Xavier. Like Ignatius, he belonged to an ancient Basque family, and the winning of the proud and talented young nobleman was a long and difficult task. Fifteen years younger than Ignatius, his views of life were somewhat different from those of the older man, but while ambitious for worldly success he had held aloof from the licentious spirits among the students. The fact that two of his brothers had been on the opposing side when Ignatius fought at Pampeluna may also have contributed to his early indifference to Ignatius. Their espousal of the French cause had brought the family to ruin. Francis was hoping by means of his skill in letters and philosophy to

⁵ Letters, 83.

⁶ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 253.

restore them to something of their former affluence. Ignatius quietly set to work to support this proud and not unworthy ambition, and helped to build up for him a class of students. Gradually the barriers were melted and the young professor responded to the challenge of Christ with which Ignatius continually and relentlessly confronted him, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" How he afterwards sought to gain for his Lord the whole of the eastern world will be seen later. From the days of the Apostle Paul no missionary of the Cross has toiled more arduously or more fruitfully than the Apostle to the Indies, Francis Xavier.

One of the keenest intellects of the age was James Lainez (or Laynez), a young Castilian, who was born in 1512. His family had been Christian for generations, but a strain of Jewish blood made his election as General, following the death of Ignatius, unpopular with the Spanish grandees. At that time Jewish and Moorish blood was a heavy liability in Spain. Lainez was a fellow student at Alcala with Salmeron, and came with him to Paris to meet Ignatius, of whose rising fame they had heard. Yielding to the spell of the master, Lainez became one of the leading members of the Company. With his prodigious learning and brilliant powers of reasoning he rendered yeoman service to the papacy against the rising tide of Protestantism. The pope early recognized his ability and appointed him as teacher of Theology. He and Faber were colleagues for years and not only in Rome, but in Piacenza and other cities, labored together for the faith. His preaching success in Perugia was notable. By a magnificent speech he won over the Venetian Senate when trouble

had arisen concerning the newly established college at Padua. On the twenty-eighth of November, 1549, he laid the foundation stones of the college at Palermo. He acted as chaplain to the troops during the war against Dragut in Barbary, and after the campaign was over Ignatius made him Provincial of Italy.

It was while he was serving in this office that the true greatness of his humility shone out in a conspicuous way. Ignatius had ordered to Rome some of the most learned members of the Company from other cities of Italy. Lainez felt that this policy was detrimental to the best interests of the Society outside of Rome, and he gave expression to his views. Ignatius regarded this as a breach of discipline. He was more exacting upon those in high office and he wrote to Lainez demanding submission. Although the recipient of high papal favors, the soldier of the Company did not hesitate a moment.

A letter written from Florence indicates his adherence to the rocklike rule of the Order. "I recognize many notable faults," said he, "not merely because you find them (though that I think, would be enough to persuade me, for it is easy to believe that he of sharper sight sees best), but because, even with my poor illumination and poor sense of humility, I see that such things have set a bad example to my neighbors, and may have hindered the better service of our Lord, and certainly have pained and disturbed you, my Superior." He goes on to ask Ignatius to allow him to retire for his fault. "I choose, for my errors and for the root from which they spring, that you (and in so doing I unburden my conscience, obeying quietly whatever you lay upon me), for the love of God, will take

from me the charge over others that I now have, and preaching and study, leaving me only the breviary; and bid me go begging my way to Rome and there work in the kitchen, or in the garden, or anywhere; or, if I were of no use in that way, then to teach the lowest classes at school; and to do this until I die, heedless of myself as to all except my soul, as if I were an old broom."⁷ This complete and soldierly surrender Ignatius met in an equally noble way by refusing to impose punishment upon his old comrade; he also continued him in office as Provincial.

The great talents of James Lainez marked him out inevitably for high office. He became the second General of the Company, as we have seen. From Pope Paul IV he refused a cardinal's hat, and after the death of that pontiff, when twelve cardinals cast their votes for him as Paul's successor, he fled from the proposed honor. It was as a master of assemblies that the power of Lainez was most evident. When Catherine de Medici called the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561, in an attempt to reconcile the Protestants and Catholics, Lainez, then General, was the most able advocate for the Catholic position. At the adjourned session of the Council of Trent that met the following year, he was again the leading figure. One of his greatest speeches was made there on October the twentieth, and swung the Council to accept the pope's view that a bishop should live in his diocese.

But perhaps the most dramatic address he ever made was at the first meeting of the Council of Trent in 1545. Then a young man of thirty-three he was present with Salmeron, a colleague even younger, as unofficial

⁷ Sedgwick, *Ignatius Loyola*, 113.

representatives for Pope Paul III. In a brilliant speech on the Eucharist that lasted for nearly three hours, he replied to arguments that had been advanced that favored the Lutheran position, and one by one demolished them. During that reply he quoted verbatim long passages from thirty-six different authors, and leaped at once to a premier position in the Council.

More briefly must we notice the other early fathers of the Company, who, like some of David's mighty men, "attained not unto the first three." Alfonso Salmeron was a fellow student in both Arts and Theology with Lainez, "remarkable for his singular aptitude for letters." Born at Toledo in 1515, he was notable among the recruits from Spain to the new Company. Shortly after the election of Ignatius as General, in 1541, he was sent, together with Broet, as papal nuncio to Ireland. The Irish people had resisted the attempts of Henry VIII to sever their allegiance from Rome. The nuncios, who received shrewd and helpful instructions from their General, as will be seen later, landed in Scotland, and thence made their way to Ireland. Working quietly and secretly because of the grave danger of their mission, "They made great efforts to instruct in the ancient and true Catholic religion" these poor, harassed people. For a time they were able to console and fortify the spirits of the scattered flock, but were at length recalled by the pope.

At the Council of Trent, Salmeron was a worthy colleague of Lainez, sharing alike in the toils and the triumphs of that historic gathering. Great prestige accrued to the young Company as a result of their united efforts. Salmeron afterwards labored successfully in Naples. He was called, with Le Jay and Canisius, to

Ingolstadt, where he lectured on the Epistles of St. Paul, and helped to establish its renowned college. The introduction of the Company into Poland was effected by him. His great learning, together with his impetuous and fiery eloquence, made him a preacher of unusual power.

Portugal answered to the first roll call of the Company by the lips of Simon Rodriguez. Under the patronage of his king, to whom his talents and disposition had recommended him, he also was a student at Paris. There he was won to the ideals of Ignatius, and renounced his worldly prospects. When the companions left Paris in November, 1536, to rejoin Ignatius in Venice, his brother followed him and pleaded with him to return. By the duty that he owed to both his King and his mother he urged him to renounce his new allegiance, but without success.

Before the Company was actually instituted by Paul III the Pope was asked by King John III for missionaries to go to the East Indies. In answer to the call Rodriguez and Xavier started for Portugal, but during the time that they were awaiting passage Rodriguez won such favor from some of the nobles by his work in Lisbon, that they urged the king to retain him. This was done, and Xavier sailed for the East alone. For some years Rodriguez labored in Portugal, until Ignatius, sharing his increasing burdens with others, named him as Provincial of Portugal on October the tenth, 1546. The work continued to make progress for a time, but Ignatius finally heard of growing laxity in the Company, and removed him to Spain. His successor, Mirone, was not at all tactful, and both king and country became very irritated. Rodriguez himself did not

improve matters by his attitude, and great damage resulted to the work. Ignatius was patient with his old disciple, almost the only one to cause him any trouble, and Rodriguez did good work in later years.

The last of the six who made the vows at Montmartre with Ignatius was another young Spaniard, Nicolas Alfonso. From the name of his native village, a common custom, he was known as Bobadilla. He came from Valladolid and Alcala to Paris. Ignatius was able to help him in material things, and this led to a spiritual fellowship. Ignatius early recognized his worth, and at first named him to go with Rodriguez to the Indies. A serious illness prevented this, and caused Xavier to take his place. His restless and fiery spirit brought about one incident that marred his long relationship with his General. The Emperor Charles hoped to placate his Protestant subjects by the *Interim* that he published in 1548, in which he made certain concessions to them. Bobadilla publicly attacked this, with the result that he was forced to leave the Emperor's dominions. Ignatius felt that his follower had acted unwisely and hastily. He had brought discredit upon the Company, and had also violated the respect due to the civil power. On the appearance of Bobadilla at Rome, entirely satisfied with his achievement, he was severely reprimanded by Ignatius.

Although not among the seven who made the first vows, three others were won by Faber after Ignatius left for Spain. They took the vows with the seven the second year. The hardships of the journey to Venice were shared by them, as well as the work in the hospitals and among the poor. They made up the number of the first ten Fathers when the Company was insti-

tuted. Paschase Broet, from Bretancourt, was one of the three. His most important mission was with Salmeron as papal nuncio to Ireland. He contributed steady, faithful service to the growing Company.

Jean Codure, of Provence, was another of the three. When the companions scattered throughout the Italian cities, prior to the founding of the Company, he and Hozes were imprisoned at Padua. During the night the dauntless spirits emulated Paul and Silas and turned their dungeon into an oratory. When Pope Paul III had given his approval of the Company, and the ten made their Profession in St. Paul's, Codure was the first to follow Ignatius in doing so. While all were deeply moved by the solemnity of the occasion, Ribadeneira, who was present, testified to the excessive devotion of the warm-hearted Codure. He was appointed to help his General in drawing up the Constitutions, but within six months he was dead. He was the second of the Company, and the first of the ten, to die. "Clever, active, prudent, he had much success in leading people to the things of God."

The remaining member of the ten was Claude Le Jay, of Savoy. He also was a priest before he met Ignatius at Venice, after joining the group at Paris. At Brescia he drew the souls of all in the city. He became Director to the Duke of Ferrara, who later, during a terrible persecution, became a tower of refuge to the Society. In Germany, whither he had gone with Bobadilla, the people at Ratisbon threatened to drown him in the Danube. "What matter," said he, "whether we enter heaven from earth or water?" He expounded the Psalms at Ingolstadt while Salmeron was there teaching the Epistles. The desire of King Ferdinand, of Aus-

tria, to have him named as Bishop of Trieste was long resisted, and, as we shall see, successfully, by both Le Jay and Ignatius. In 1532 he died after labors truly apostolic in Italy, Bavaria, Austria, and Germany. "He had a happy face, and a sweet and religious gravity," says Ribadeneira. "He was a lover of poverty, excellent in prayer, and modest."

While these complete the roll call of the original Company, yet there were some who came in during the life of Ignatius, and rose to places of leadership in the ranks. It seems fitting to mention them at this point, and add their names to the roll. Among them was Diego Hozes, a man of scientific knowledge, who was won at Venice by Ignatius through the Spiritual Exercises. His brief and joyous course was soon run. At Padua, as we have seen, he endured joyful imprisonment with Codure. Soon after his release he was preaching in the public square from the words "Watch, for ye know neither the day nor the hour." Shortly afterwards he was seized with a fever, and taken to the hospital. With ardent joy he was soon released from suffering. He was "the last to be called into the vineyard, and the first to be called to his reward." In life his face was brown and deformed, but in death it was so beautiful that Codure could not take his eyes from it.⁸

The first and greatest German member of the Company was Peter Canisius. Born in 1521 he was a doctor of philosophy at the age of nineteen. A little later he was among the great numbers to whom Faber was giving the Spiritual Exercises. He spent a year as professor of rhetoric at the college of Messina, and

⁸ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 173.

then, on his twenty-third birthday, on May 8, 1543, he was admitted to the ranks of the Professed. His riches were given away, and he spent some time at Rome where he esteemed it a great privilege to be, since Ignatius was there. "In that school," he declared, "we are taught to acquire a rich poverty, a free slavery, a glorious humility, and a noble love for Christ crucified."⁹ Pope Paul IV sent him to Ingolstadt in 1550. There, as Rector, *l'incomparable Canisius* renewed the glories of the University. The great missions successfully carried out by St. Peter Canisius and the wonderful works accomplished by him during the course of his eventful life seem almost incredible.

One of the most notable recruits of the Company, alike for his powerful support and the unusual conditions of his entrance, was Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia. He was related to King Ferdinand of Spain, and was born in the year 1510. When a lad of eighteen his father sent him to the Court of Charles V. There he rendered distinguished service and gradually rose to a position of eminence in the state. Deeply religious from youth he was "profoundly moved" by a sight of the body of the Empress that he was convoying to its burial in Granada in 1539. Seven years later his own wife Eleanor, a noble Portugese lady, died. He had long admired and assisted the Company and now resolved to enter its ranks.

He communicated his desire to Ignatius who replied in a letter written from Rome, on October 9, 1546, in which he says, "The divine goodness has consoled me with the determination which He has imparted to the soul of your Lordship. May His holy angels, and all the

⁹ Bartoli, Vol. II, 234.

holy souls that enjoy Him in heaven, give Him infinite thanks; for here on earth we are in no position to thank Him for so great a mercy as that with which He has gratified this least Society of Jesus, by drawing your Lordship into it. By your entrance I do hope Divine Providence will draw abundant fruit and spiritual good for your own soul, and for countless others that will profit by your good example; and that those of us who are already in the Society will be encouraged to begin anew to serve the Divine Father of families who gives us such a brother, and has selected such a laborer for the cultivation of His newly planted vine, of which in some measure He has given me the charge, although entirely unworthy. And so in the name of the Lord I accept and receive your Lordship from this moment as our brother, and as such my soul will ever entertain toward you the love which is due to him who with so much liberality surrenders himself in the house of God, there perfectly to serve Him.”¹⁰ Ignatius goes on to advise him that he can divest himself of his great responsibilities but slowly and with due consideration, and speaks of the future of his sons and daughters. He also urges him to the study of theology, and to take, if possible, the Doctor’s degree in the University of Gandia. This will better fit him for his future work as a member of the Society.

On the first of February, 1548, Araoz, a nephew and follower of Ignatius, received privately Borgia’s first vows in the ducal chapel of Gandia. The fact was not then made public, and outwardly he was rated as a secular dignitary for another three years. By that time he was able to relinquish his public and family duties,

¹⁰ Letters, 85.

and entered the priesthood. His labors in the Company were conspicuous and successful. In the Iberian peninsula he built up the Society in a splendid fashion. He founded many colleges, including the Roman College. His outstanding abilities and devotion were recognized by Pope Julius III who urged him to accept the cardinal's hat. General James Lainez called him to Rome as Assistant, and upon the death of Lainez in 1565 he was elected as the third General of the Society. Many of the members, like Ignatius himself, had been of noble blood. But all had been unmarried and on the threshold of their career. It brought to the Society a great accession of prestige and strength when Francis stepped out of domestic life, as a widower, and down from the highest offices of State, to answer the roll call as a humble soldier in the ranks of the Company of Jesus.

Many other noble and gifted sons Ignatius had the privilege of receiving in his lifetime, who cannot all be named here. Among them was Francis Strada, who stepped into the breach made by the death of Hozes. A young Spaniard who had been secretary to Caraffa, he was met by Ignatius when on his way to Naples to embrace a military career. The Spiritual Exercises turned him into a soldier of Christ. He became a brilliant preacher, and in Italy, Spain, and Portugal his labors were both eminent and fruitful.

Another recruit, who was slow to respond but afterwards rose to high place, was Jerome Nadal. During a serious illness of Ignatius he was one of three appointed to direct the affairs of the Society. John Polanco, secretary and trusted helper of Ignatius' later years, did much to advance the progress of the work. And, finally,

may be mentioned Ribadeneira, the runaway page with whom Ignatius was patient and forbearing, even despite the protests of staider members of the House. He repaid his spiritual father with years of loving devotion and a rich and colorful story of his life, when Ignatius had answered with joy to the last great roll call.

Chapter 6

The Foreign Legion

We are pilgrims in this world, and so the Holy Scriptures call us, and we journey toward Thee, O Lord, as to our own country, and to the true native land of our souls, wherein, as the Apostle says, we live and move and have our being.

— *Diego de Estella*

THE Company of Jesus was begun. From Manresa days the thoughts and dreams of Ignatius had been gradually taking shape. Quietly he had gathered around him a small band of choice and eager souls. Some of them were superior to the Leader in learning and intellectual power, but all had surrendered to the ideals he so unflinchingly set before them. His mystical devotion, his practical sagacity, and his inflexible will had given him an unobtrusive but an unchallenged dominance over as fine a company of Christian youth as any leader could desire. The vows at Montmartre had changed their loose association into a purposeful group. And the Spiritual Exercises had ranged them all under the Standard of Christ, to wage war against the powers of darkness, in a life of apostolic labor and renunciation.

A further and a greater step was awaiting them. Outside the circle of their quiet fellowship great conflicting issues were being raised in the most stirring century of European history since the days of the Crusades. Kings and popes and reformers were contending for supremacy in many lands. The very existence of the Catholic Church itself was imperiled. That these ardent and able sons should be drawn into the struggle and rally to her defense was the natural and inevitable thing.

In pursuance of their plan to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem they arrived in Venice from Paris in January, 1537. During the time that they spent in Venice they won golden opinions by their unselfish ministrations in the hospitals to the poor and sick. Later they went to Rome and secured from the pope both permission and alms to go to Jerusalem. Those who were not yet priests were also permitted to receive special ordination. They returned to Venice only to find that no ships were sailing for the East because of war with the Turks. Their public ministrations and preaching were resumed until the autumn, when hopes for securing a passage that year were definitely abandoned. There remained the alternative in their vow — that of offering themselves as a group in special service to the pope. Ignatius, Faber, and Lainez were chosen to go to Rome to proffer their services, while the others scattered among the university cities of Italy in active, religious work.

Results speedily followed. Great numbers of splendid youths wished to join the band and emulate its mode of life. Under existing conditions this was impossible, since there was no provision by which they could be accepted. Gradually there was forced upon the minds of Ignatius and his companions the imperative

need for a definite, permanent organization. In due time the present members would reach the end of their labors, and if the work now being accomplished were to be conserved it could be done in only one way. The ardent zeal of the earnest crowds of young men, unless allowed to evaporate, could be utilized only by similar means; and the urgent needs of the Church also pointed in the same direction. As an answer to all these problems there emerged at last the clear conception of a devoted and mobile force of Christian warriors, "standing with one foot poised, ready for instant advance in any direction." Owing allegiance to no land or king, unlike the roving mercenary companies, the weapons of their warfare would be spiritual. From the General to the youngest member they would be pledged to utter and instant obedience to the Vicar of Christ. They would be, to use a modern term, a *Legion Étrangere*, the Foreign Legion of the Holy See.

Such a decision was taken as the result of long and prayerful consideration. Ignatius had called them all to Rome in the spring of 1538, in order that they might decide upon their course of action, and all who were able to do so came. Troubles and scandals brought upon them by powerful enemies delayed action until the following year, but they then decided with complete unanimity, the pope being willing, to institute a Company under obedience. Ignatius drew up a brief sketch of the proposed institute under five chapters (*Capitoli*). These set forth that their chief aim was to aid souls in Christian living, and in doctrine. The General was to exercise executive power. Instruction to youth and the ignorant was to be provided. A life of poverty, chastity, and obedience was to be embraced. A special vow of obedience to the pope was to be taken by each member, and this was the very core of the *Capitoli*.



A curious three-part picture. At the left Paul III is shown giving his approval to the Society. At the right of the picture St. Ignatius writes the Constitutions and sends out the first missionaries of the Society.

The Master of the Sacred Palace, Father Tomas Badia, approved them as "pious and holy," and Cardinal Contarini, a firm friend of Ignatius, presented them to the pope on September 3, 1539. Paul III expressed his great pleasure on reading them, and it appeared that the matter would receive a speedy issue. However, Cardinal Ghinucci, the papal secretary, made objection to certain features in them. The pope, therefore, appointed Cardinal Guidiccione, famed for his eminent piety and learning, to examine and pronounce upon them, together with Cardinals Contarini and Ghinucci. He agreed with Contarini as to the tenor of the Chapters, but he agreed with Ghinucci that the request be not granted. Aware of the grave decadence of the religious Orders he wished to reduce the number of those now existing to four. To advocate the founding of yet another was inconsistent with the views he had publicly and forcefully expressed, and so his judgment was adverse.

The tireless persistence of Ignatius was proof against this discouraging report. For a year he labored, both prayers and private interviews being employed. At the end of that time the objections of Guidiccione were overcome, although a compromise was arrived at that the number of the Company should be limited to sixty. The pope realized the value of the help thus made available to the Holy See, and expressed his conviction that the finger of God was evident in the matter. On the twenty-seventh of September, 1540, the Bull, *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*, was issued, and the Society of Jesus was launched on its career, to become the strongest bulwark of the papacy.

The next spring all the Fathers who could do so reassembled in Rome. During the year of waiting they had been dispersed on various missions for the pope.

Xavier and Rodriguez, who were waiting in Lisbon to embark for the Indies, Faber in Germany, and Bobadilla in Bisignano, were unable to attend. The first three sent their votes in writing for the generalship. The other six, Lainez, Salmeron, Le Jay, Broet, Coindre, and Ignatius, met, and after some days spent in prayer Ignatius was elected by unanimous vote as the first General. Since he was unwilling to accept the heavy charge, a second election was held four days later, which gave the same result. Ignatius accepted the verdict, and prepared to assume the duties of office. On the following Friday, April 22, 1541, in the church of St. Paul, they met to make their profession. During the celebration of the Mass, Ignatius read aloud the formula of Profession, and communicated. Each of them in turn then made profession, and received Communion from the General.

Ignatius took up his duties with unremitting diligence. Although the Society was now formally instituted, much remained to be done in the way of consolidating and improving its position. With ardent zeal he gave himself to his task, and centered the work near the Vatican, thus entailing residence in Rome. From the day of his election until his death Ignatius was apparently absent from Rome but twice. On each occasion he went as a messenger of goodwill. By papal command he went to re-establish peace between the inhabitants of Tivoli and their neighbors of St. Angelo. Later he went to Naples to seek to reconcile the Duke of Colonne with his wife, Jeanne d'Aragon. Save for these two excursions "Ignatius governed from the Eternal City all the workmen of the Gospel, scattered throughout the world," who owed their duty to the Society.

The writing of the Constitutions was to occupy much of his time for the next few years. It was necessary to define more precisely than the Bull of Institution had set forth the work and the government of the Society. The compromise of Guidiccione was also proving to be a great hindrance to the work. Limiting their number to sixty allowed but little opportunity for growth. In the field of education alone, many inviting doors swung open that could not be entered. Ignatius saw men of wealth and influence offer foundations for colleges, and talented youths who desired to enter, but neither could be accepted because of the fewness of his men.

Within a very short time the hopes of its founder had been surpassed by the progress of the Society. It had already taken the field against heresy, and had become a new bond between Catholic nations, but its progress was now checked by its restrictions. Ignatius strove consistently against these and at length, on the fourteenth of March, 1544, he obtained the Bull, *Injunctum Nobis*, that struck the shackles from the limbs of the young Society. The number of members was no longer limited, but all who were worthy might be admitted into its ranks.

Expansion from a small group to a world-wide Society, with immediate and marvelous successes, was the result achieved by the removal of the limitation. "Our Religion began to grow notably each day," says Ribadeneira. This growth was helped still further the next year when the General secured permission for his priests to preach, to hear confessions, and to fulfill all the functions of the priestly office. The following year, on June 5, 1546, Pope Paul III granted leave for coadjutors, both spiritual and temporal, to be employed.

These completed the five grades which the Society has since possessed. The first two, novices and approved scholars, are probationary and terminable. The three final grades are the temporal and spiritual coadjutors of the three vows, and the Professed of the four vows. The temporal coadjutors, or lay brothers, attend to the business of the House or College. The spiritual coadjutors are usually teachers in the same or engaged in the various works of the Society, and are regular clerics like the Professed.

Many marks of papal favor were given and numerous privileges bestowed by Paul III in the Bull, *Licet debitum*, of October 18, 1549. These included exemption from taxation, from all episcopal jurisdiction, and from the spiritual direction of women. The priests of the Society could also hear the confessions of the faithful and give Communion to the same, with minor restrictions, without permission from a parish priest.

On the accession of Pope Julius III, following the death of Paul III on November 10, 1549, Ignatius seized the opportunity to clarify still further the position and the constitution of the Society. Julius readily agreed to reaffirm what had been done by his predecessor, and to make necessary changes. Ignatius, John Polanco, his secretary from 1547, and others, worked hard on remodeling the Bull of Institution, and these changes were incorporated in the new Bull, *Expositum debitum*, issued on July 21, 1550. So clearly were the aims, government, and all the characteristics of the Society set forth therein, that it practically superseded the Bull of Paul III as the cornerstone of the Institute.¹

The members of the Society are not monks, but regular clerics, who combine both the active and the

¹ Astrain, *Life*, 65-66.

contemplative life. Their aim is the salvation and perfection of themselves and their neighbor, by means of preaching, colleges, and missions. They possess no money, wear no regular habit, endure hardships, but need not inflict rigorous austerities upon themselves, and have no choir for the canonical recitation of the divine office of the Church. Only choice candidates are accepted, and a long probation must be endured. The various duties are performed by members of suitable talents. Colleges are strictly supervised. The ranks of the Professed are open only to men of approved virtue, and their number has never been large. The General is elected for life, and has full authority, although due provisions are made for his Assistants to act on rare occasions. The vow of poverty closed the door on cupidity and ambition, while the special vow of obedience insured allegiance to the Vicar of Christ.

Thus did "Julius, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God," incorporate the suggested amendments of Ignatius, making them binding on all the faithful: "Let no one dare to break or contradict this writing of our absolution, protection, probation, confirmation, augmentation, supplement, decree, declaration and commandment. And if anyone shall presume to attempt to break it he will incur the wrath of Almighty God, and of His blessed apostles, Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, 1550, July 21, the first year of our Pontificate."²

Under the fostering care of Ignatius the youthful Society of Jesus, the "Atlas of the Papacy," came to the mature strength of manhood. Henceforth the occupant of the Holy See was to find in it a strong bulwark. At his disposal was placed a splendid corps of spiritual

² Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 350.

troops, finely trained and utterly devoted. And, as we have seen, the need was very great. Ignatius had before him examples of revolt and insubordination from multitudes of monks, from priests, and from prelates. The Holy See endured the loss of great numbers of dioceses, and whole kingdoms detached themselves from the unity of the Church.³ The warriors of Ignatius, dedicated to the service of the pope, were destined to stem the tide of impending disaster. It was a standing army, each carefully selected man being trained for special service. With an ancient Roman leader Ignatius might have said, "The strength of the kingdom depends on the first choice of soldiers." He was very chary of accepting new recruits, using "the hook and not the net." Two principles he followed unwaveringly, no one was admitted without great caution, and none was employed in the service of souls who had not given ample proofs of virtue and prudence. In the Constitutions he set forth the qualities desired, such as good health, a sound mind, and the spirit of obedience. He likewise declared the things that would debar, including heresy, schism, crime, marriage, servitude, weakness of mind or body, and the habit of a monk or hermit.

A totally different ideal from that of other Orders was held by Ignatius for his sons. They were neither recluses from the world, as the Benedictines, nor a company of preachers, like the sons of Dominic, nor yet troubadours of God's love, as the followers of Francis. Essentially they were warriors trained for forlorn and solitary exploits, such as scouts and sappers whose necessary service contributes to the final victory. "In war," said he, "scouts do not serve less than the sol-

³ Cretineau-Joly, *Histoire*, I, 95.

diers who fight, nor do the engineers who make subterranean mines do less to undermine the strength of the enemy than those who, when the walls are down, with courage make the assault." He declared further that they were to be like light cavalry to harass and wear down the enemy. In opposing the appointment of Le Jay to the See of Trieste Ignatius recognized that members of other Orders, unlike his own, could hold such offices.

"I see them," said he, "in this luminous army of the militant church like squadrons of men in arms, who have their own fixed place and their residence; who with their own power can oppose the enemy and always keep their marching formation. But ours are like the light cavalry who must always hold themselves ready to resist the assaults of the enemy, to attack them and to retire, and to go skirmishing now in one place and now in another. And therefore it is necessary that we be free and not occupied with obligations, and with duties which oblige us always to be in place" (*a star semper fermi*).⁴ Thus Ignatius secured release for his men from all detaining duties that they might be free at any moment for instant service.

National distinctions were lost in the "Foreign Legion" of the papacy. In the founding of the Society, Spain, France, and Portugal were represented. And the same international character still obtains. German, English, Italian, Hungarian, and Japanese colleagues may live together in the bonds of Christian comradeship and brotherly love. To many minds this has furnished an added attraction by which the call to arms has been powerfully reinforced. It is true that Ignatius was a Spaniard, or at least, a Basque, and so remained.

⁴ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 272-273.

Other languages, such as Latin or Italian, he acquired but slowly and imperfectly. His native tongue was always his best medium of expression. It is also true that for years, as was natural, Spanish influence was dominant in the Society. But the soul of Ignatius was dedicated to the task of forming a Society, detached from other ties, which should serve God and man under the aegis of Rome. And so he strove to supplant the inherent love of country by devotion to the Holy See. "He who from love of Jesus Christ professes to despise the world, ought no longer to find in this world any one place which he considers his fatherland," he declared. After his visit to his brother in Azpeitia in 1535 he never again saw his native place. The world was his parish, and the world gave him his Company. As Bartoli afterwards said, "The whole world concurred in the formation, increase, and extension of the Society of Jesus. Spain gave it a father in St. Ignatius, France a mother in the University of Paris, Italy, a Paul III who determined its existence, Portugal its title Apostolic, Germany an arena to combat the Protestants, the East Indies, the kingdom of Africa, and America welcomed the children of Ignatius, even in the life of the Founder."

This spirit of internationalism Ignatius deliberately fostered. On their travels he made suitable disposition of his men to that end. On their journey from Venice to Rome in the spring of 1537, the nine companions divided into three groups. Each group contained a priest and men of different nations. On their return to Ignatius at Venice they journeyed in similar fashion, begging their way on foot. Likewise when they paired off on their missions to various cities Ignatius arranged that there should always be a Frenchman and a Span-

iard together, a custom which was observed in all their travels. "In this way he implanted that sweet fraternal charity which rises above the diversity of nationality, character, and custom, and which has been, is, and we hope always will be, the greatest charm of religious life in the Society."⁵

Very remarkable was the success Ignatius achieved in developing this universal spirit. It was indeed a marvel that there should be found men of different nations in the unity of the Company. But, as has been remarked, "It was one of the wisest calculations of the prudence of Ignatius, as well as one of his greatest consolations, thus to collect men of all countries together, for by this means the Company became, as it were, absolutely universal." Among other wise measures to prevent discussion through national pride, battles between warring Christian princes were not to be spoken of between members. Love of Christ, to whose Society they were called, transmuted all other love and exceeded it, so that the Fathers became as attached to the Society as the ancient Romans to their country. Everard Mercurian, who succeeded Francis Borgia as General in 1573, thus addressed the Third General Congregation. "Ye are all brethren and sons of the same vocation. Let there be then, I pray you, no Poland, no Spain, no Italy, no Germany or Gaul, but one Society, one God in all, and all in one Lord, Jesus Christ, whose members you are."⁶ Rome, where lived their General, was the visible center of their allegiance and loyalty, and wherever they went they enjoyed the same privileges as if in Rome. They could celebrate Mass, if necessary, on a portable altar in the Houses.

⁵ Astrain, *Life*, 63.

⁶ Bartoli, *Life*, II, 104.

Even if the country in which they happened to be were under an interdict, they could there receive the Sacraments, and not they themselves alone, but also their servants.

But the loyalty of the members was transferred supremely from their own land to the citizenship that is in heaven. Pomp, pleasure, and worldly prosperity were all renounced. As with the Apostle Paul all lesser ties, affections, and loyalties were swallowed up in the great dedication of self. A letter written by a member of the Society pictures their response to the great challenge.

“The Rule that we follow requires that we be men crucified; men who strip themselves of all natural affections to clothe themselves with Jesus Christ, and who, according to the word of St. Paul, shew themselves to be ministers of God in labors, in watchings, in fastings, by their chastity, their learning, their sincere charity; who combat to the right and left with the arms of justice, in glory or in vileness, through good report or through evil report, patient in tribulation or prosperity, men, in short, whose whole efforts tend to reach their celestial country, and who encourage others in the same desire by every means in their power, and by every effort which can be inspired by constant zeal for the furtherance of God’s greater glory.”⁷

And so Ignatius “consolidated this empire without territory,” this kingdom in the heart of his sons, this “Foreign Legion” of the Church, recruited as “God’s soldiers under the faithful obedience of the most sacred Lord the pope, and the other Roman Pontiffs, his successors.” With infinite patience and quiet judgment had he wrought, and now his work stood revealed. In the hand of the Vicar of Christ he had placed a sword

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 63.

of exquisite temper. And to defend her against the assaults of all her foes he had flung around the Roman Catholic Church a coat of chain mail, each member of the Society a link, and each link contributing to its flexible and invincible strength.

Chapter 7

The Articles of War

I trust and am assured that I shall carry to an end this enterprise which for the glory of God and the edification of His Church I have begun.

— *Juan de los Angeles*

A SELECT force of highly trained men was at the disposal of the pope. He could launch members of his "light squadron" at any threatened point of the far-flung battle line, whether at home or abroad. But since they might serve in Africa, the Indies, America, or the older countries of Europe, something was needed to maintain them as a compact unit in the Church Militant. The needs of the present and the necessities of the future called for Articles of War. By these their policy could be directed and their efforts guided, whatever the nature of their warfare. These Articles the forethought and care of Ignatius provided in the Constitutions.

The Constitutions, as finally adopted, were the result of slow growth, repeated trial, and continual improvement. Ignatius had laid down earlier Rules for the guidance of his followers. They were to occupy

their hearts with God, taking Jesus as their example. With respect to obedience and manifestation of their conscience they were to see in their Superiors the image of God. A wise silence was to be observed unless the establishment of truth, or other necessity, compelled otherwise. Humility in success would be insured by thinking of oneself as a worthless instrument in the hand of God. Affronts and outrage were to be expected, since from these Christ Himself was not exempt. If a Father fell into error each brother was to pray for him, and take warning for himself. Immoderate mirth and gloomy melancholy were alike to be avoided. The task in hand was not to be neglected for the sake of a possible bigger work that might be found. Firm attachment was required for the holy vocation. The *Capitoli* presented to Pope Paul III was a rough draft of the later Constitutions. Perpetual chastity and evangelical poverty, together with absolute obedience to the General and instant obedience to the pope, were enjoined, but all obedience was understood to be in things not sinful. Colleges and universities were provided for. In lieu of the usual Choir each member was to say privately the canonical hours of the Church. After a long probation God's soldier would engage in warfare by preaching, directing souls in the spiritual life, propagating the faith, instructing the youthful and ignorant, and by hearing confessions.

When the Bull of Institution had been issued in 1540 the Professed members who were in Rome met the following year and drew up a series of resolutions. These were handed to Ignatius and Codure to revise and put into permanent form. Codure died shortly afterwards, and the burden of writing the Constitutions that should govern his Company fell upon Ignat-

tius. He realized the great importance of the task before him. He was to be a Lawgiver to a new Order, and like the ancient Lawgiver he also framed a Decalogue for his sons, the Constitutions being divided into ten parts. Although not written in forty days the Law of Ignatius was, nevertheless, written in the presence of God. It was baptized with tears, and consecrated by continual prayers. To Gonzales he related that the method he followed when writing the Constitutions was to say Mass each day, to present before God the matter on which he was deliberating, and to offer prayer upon it. On one point, the matter of revenue, he remained in deliberation forty days.¹ Each day he wrote down what happened in his soul. These writings he showed to Gonzales, and read to him some parts of them. Gonzales desired him to read them all and asked Ignatius to leave them with him, but Ignatius refused.

Ignatius had read the Constitution of other religious Orders. He had been especially attracted by the strict Rule of the Carthusians. Soon after his conversion he had charged a servant who was going to Burgos to procure a copy of this for him, and he had serious thoughts of joining that Order. Yet he owed little to other Rules. Only the Scriptures and *The Imitation of Christ* were in his room while he wrote. Much that he did write he had pondered from Manresa days. That had been for him a holy school where he had learned concerning the deep things of God much that he now incorporated in the Constitutions. Concerning one period of ecstasy he never spoke save for one reference at a later time to the Constitutions, when he said, "I learned it at Manresa." In the Constitutions

¹ *Le Récit*, 103.

we find combined in striking fashion both the contemplative and the active religious life, the spirit of both Mary and Martha. They supplement and conserve the results obtained by the Spiritual Exercises in the training of suitable recruits and the building up of the Company. Very fine is the motto with which the Company girds itself for new conflicts. "To the greater glory of God" (*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*). Suarez has remarked that in the Constitutions alone Ignatius repeats this phrase three hundred and seventy-six times.

The Constitutions, which are preceded by a General Examen, deal with the admission and sifting of recruits, their training, discipline, membership, manner of life, missions, unity, government, and increase.

In the very "Preamble" St. Ignatius permits us to look deep into his mind and character. The first paragraph runs as follows: "Although it be the sovereign wisdom and goodness of God our Creator and Lord which is to preserve, govern, and advance in His holy service this least Society of Jesus as it has vouchsafed to begin the same, and on our part the interior law of charity and love, which the Holy Ghost is accustomed to write and imprint in the hearts of men, is to help thereunto rather than any exterior constitutions — yet, because the sweet disposition of divine Providence requires the co-operation of His creatures, and the Vicar of Christ our Lord has so appointed, and the examples of Saints and reason itself teach us so in our Lord, we think it necessary that Constitutions should be written, which may help us, according to the Spirit of our Institute, to greater progress in the way of God's service upon which we have entered."

In the second paragraph he states that while in his aim and intention the welfare of the body of the Society as a whole must indeed ever be his chief and highest concern — since its unification in action, its proper government, and its steady conservation in the vigorous pursuit of the greater glory of God are indispensable and essential — yet governmental executive functioning must of necessity deal directly with the individuals who constitute the body. This is evident insofar as question arises of their admittance to membership, their promotion to offices, or their assignment to different parts of the vineyard of Christ our Lord. Hence, the Constitutions will logically begin with what pertains to the individual.

Part One deals with the acceptance or rejection of applicants for probational admission. It clearly defines the traits of character, physical conditions, mental qualities, moral antecedents and habits required, and the account to be taken of their religious leanings. All this is meant to direct the choice of the examiners in casting their vote for or against the admission of the candidates. Ineligible are those who have been recreant to the Faith, criminals, slaves, members of other Orders, those who are married, and those of weak judgment. Moreover, repulsive deformities, ill health, old age, lack of energy, absence of reasonable promise of utility, must be regarded as impediments excluding candidates even from admission to the prescribed period of preliminary probation. Those who are received with the view to entering the rank of Temporal Coadjutors (Brothers) are to be content with the lot of Martha, actively contributing to the efficiency of the Society by relieving from the care of ordinary domestic occupations those engaged in intellectual

and spiritual pursuits. The latter must be rated and judged more directly according to talent, orthodoxy in their views, convictions and guiding principles, promise of submissive application, burning yet prudent zeal for the salvation of souls. External gifts, or noble birth, are not at all sufficient in themselves to commend an applicant, but are to be taken into account if the personal qualifications and spiritual graces are present.

There is no rushing of the candidate. For a number of days he is a guest in quiet retirement, that he "may more freely weigh with himself and with God his calling, and resolution of serving the divine and supreme Majesty in this Society." There also he is shown the Apostolic Diplomas, the Constitutions, and the Rules of the Society, so that, open-eyed, he can know the nature of the service upon which he may enter.

Part Two treats of the dismissal of those who had been admitted but who afterwards were found to be unfit. Depravity, debility, or ill will may indicate that it would be unwise for them to proceed further. Yet, any such are to be dismissed with all their possessions, with the least possible sense of disgrace, and with mutual kindness and goodwill.

Part Three enacts detailed regulations which are specifically directed to education, instruction, and training of members all through their novitiate and during all the years preceding their last vows and their definitive admission. It deals with their spiritual education and life, the virtues they are to cultivate, the exercises and observance which they are to convert into effective means for acquiring and perfecting the Christ-like spirit of the Society. Intercourse with the outside world is largely restricted. Strict daily examination of

conscience and weekly confession are required. From temptation and sickness the candidate is taught to derive spiritual profit. He learns the value of holy poverty and to love it as a mother. Individual opinions are sunk for mutual goodwill, so far as can reasonably be done, and the spirit of unity fostered for the sake of more successful service. Obedience to all who are above him, and especially to the Superior as to Christ, is enjoined. Health and strength of body are commended as necessary to the service of God and our fellows, and therefore castigations and severe penance should be used but sparingly and under the control of obedience. Temperance, moderation, and decorum are at all times to be rigidly observed.

Part Four treats of the instruction of members — philosophical, theological, literary, and scientific — occupying a quarter of the pages of the Constitutions. It deals with studies, colleges, universities, rectors, and all the organization of the educational work of the Society. The importance of this work, in the eyes of Ignatius, is obvious from the amount of space that he devotes to it. A college or university offered to the Society by a donor can be accepted by the General, who appoints a rector to govern it. The dissolution of such an institution, however, can be decided only by the General Congregation. Theology, languages, arts, and natural science are provided for, but not law or medicine. Textbooks are to be orthodox. If necessary, as in the case of some classical writers, they may be expurgated.

The Rector, preferably chosen from the ranks of the non-professed, must be "most exemplary, of great edification, and strict mortification in all

depraved inclinations, and tried especially in obedience and humility; one endowed with discretion, skilled in government, versed in business, and experienced in spiritual concerns, knowing how to interchange severity with mildness in due time and place, anxious, laborious, learned, in short, one in whom Superiors may confide and to whom they may safely communicate their power — to the greater glory of God."

It is his duty to sustain on his shoulders, by prayer and holy desires, the whole college. He is to see that only fit and proper candidates are admitted, and their studies must take first place. Proper time must be allowed for sleep and exercise. Spiritual interests are conserved by regular attendance at Mass, examens, confessions, and devotions. In the case of clerical students, opportunities are provided for preaching, hearing confession, and saying Mass. Extern scholars are to be instructed in all that relates to Christian education, and to imbibe with learning habits of life worthy of Christians (*et demum cum litteris mores etiam Christianis dignos hauriant*).

Part Five sets forth the mode of final definitive admission for those who have been thoroughly approved as members of the Society. The most scrupulous care is to be exercised. "They shall be accounted fit whose lives have been thoroughly scrutinized and approved of by continued and diligent probations," who have "bestowed that care and diligence which was necessary to the culture of the intellect," who have "exercised themselves diligently in schooling their affections," who have "been very earnest in the spiritual and bodily exercises which

pertain to their improvement in humility, in the denial of all sensual love, of their own will and private judgment, and in the greater knowledge and love of God."

When admission is being made to the ranks of the Professed, which is the core of the Society, the General, or his deputy, after offering Mass, turns to the candidate, who, in a loud voice, pronounces his written vow in the following form:

"I, (name), make profession and promise Almighty God before His Virgin mother, and before all the heavenly host, and before all bystanders, and you, Reverend Father, General of the Society of Jesus, holding the place of God, and your Successors (or you, Reverend Father, delegated by Father General of the Society of Jesus) perpetual Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and the Society's special care in the education of young men, according to the form of living contained in the Apostolic Letters of the Society of Jesus, and in its Constitutions. Moreover I promise special Obedience to the Pope regarding Missions, as is contained in the same Apostolic Letters and Constitutions.

Place, Date, Church."

The Professed then receives the Eucharist, and his name is written in a book of the Society kept for the purpose, together with the particulars of his Profession and his solemn vows. The simple vow for Spiritual Coadjutors is the same, save for the omission of the special vow of obedience to the pope. The vow for Temporal Coadjutors likewise omits the promise of special obedience, and also the clause respecting the education of young men.

Part Six relates to the personal spirituality and ministerial occupations of those who are now admitted into the ranks. Holy Obedience is emphatically inculcated, "in which virtue all must studiously endeavor to make great progress — so that Holy Obedience may be perfect in us in every point, in execution, in will, in intellect, doing whatever is enjoined us with all celerity, with spiritual joy and perseverance." Poverty is also to be cultivated. It is to be loved and maintained in its purity as the staunchest bulwark of religious Orders (*ut murus Religionis firmissimus, diligenda et in sua puritate conservanda*, VI, 11, 1). To that end the Professed must live on alms. No pay is to be received for services given, whether in confessions, Mass, visitations, or aught else. No box is to be kept in the church. And the modest garb is to be in keeping with the profession of poverty. Prayer, medical attention, and sacraments are provided for members when sick, and a decent burial at death.

Part Seven relates to the missions of the Society. Instant and unquestioning obedience must be given by the Professed to the pope's command to go to any part of the world. Unless the pope has named the missionary the General may designate the person to go, but he should receive in writing the intention of the pope with respect to the mission. No provision may be asked for the journey. In new lands the missionary has large discretion as to his centers of activity and methods of work. Within a year after the election of a new pope the General shall declare to him the special obedience of the Society respecting missions.

Part Eight makes provision for mutual union between the dispersed members of the Society. A spirit

of unity is secured by the comparatively small number of members admitted, all of whom are bound by a common Obedience. The General is the visible symbol of their unity and their devotion to Obedience. Love is the chief bond of union, and it is cemented by a mutual and regular intercourse by letter. The General Congregation is composed of the Provincials together with two Professed members from each province of the Society. It may be called by the General or, if the General is dead, by a Vicar. In the latter case three days are spent in prayer and meditation before the election of a new General. On the election day, after Mass and sermon, all vote by writing. The one receiving more than half the votes is declared elected as General.

Part Nine is concerned with the General of the Society himself, his duties and powers. He is elected for life. His character and reputation must be flawless. Of utmost importance is it that "He be most intimate and familiar with God and our Lord, as well in prayer as in all his actions" (*ut cum Deo ac Domino nostro quam maxime conjunctus, et familiaris tam in oratione, quam in omnibus suis actionibus sit*, IX, 11, 1). He must be an example by the splendor of his charity and true humility, free from inordinate affections, a mirror and model to members and strangers, able to combine severity and firmness with mildness and mercy, a man of intellect and judgment, of skill and discretion, a man of dignified bearing and gracious demeanor.

The power of the General is very great. He admits and dismisses members, controls the entire membership itself through Provincials set over definite territories, governs colleges and universities through the Rectors whom he appoints, purchases and disposes of

property, directs missions, in harmony with the pope, and may order all in the virtue of Obedience as one who holds the place of Christ. Yet in certain ways his power is limited. The Society sets his living expenses, and regulates his activities if he makes them too arduous for his own welfare. He is not allowed to accept dignities that would interfere with his duties. Should infirmity or any other cause make it necessary the Assistants may appoint a Deputy. An Admonitor is appointed by the Society, modestly to advise him with respect to his life and duty. And, finally, for sin or crime he may be degraded, or even expelled from the Society.

Four Assistants are elected with him to help him in the work. His peculiar duty is not to preach, or engage in clerical functions, but to govern. This he does by appointing effective officers such as Provincials, Rectors, and others, who can assume full responsibility; and by keeping in constant touch with all the members at their different posts throughout the world.

Part Ten, finally, deals with the increase of the Society. This is to be attained by exact and solid learning, but even more by the cultivation of the solid and perfect virtues, and of spiritual concerns (*doctrina exacta et solida . . . in virtutum solidarum ac perfectarum, et spiritualium rerum studium*). The colleges are to be nurseries for the Society. Since Poverty is to be strictly observed no personal possessions or private property can be held. Ambition, "the mother of all evils," is to be shunned. All approach to dignity, or office, or the seeking of preferment is forbidden. No sides are to be taken in quarrels between Christian princes, as above noted, in order that among men of different races in the Society dissension may be avoided.

But above all, the unity which underlies success is to be attained by the bond of Obedience which will unite individuals with Superiors, these with one another and their Provincials, and all with the General, so that subordination may be diligently maintained by all.

Such, in brief outline, are the Constitutions of Ignatius. By them he organized his sons into a compact body of probationers and novices. Temporal and Spiritual Coadjutors of the three vows, and the Professed of the four vows. Suitable men were chosen from the ranks, after adequate training, to fill the offices of Rectors of colleges, Provincials, Assistants, and the Generalship. The Constitutions differed from those of older Orders in excluding ecclesiastical dignities, the choir, a distinctive habit, the direction of convents, and government by a triennial chapter. On the other hand, they assumed definite responsibility for ministering to prisoners and to the sick in hospitals, for instructing the poor, educating the youth, and vigorously prosecuting missions in heathen lands.

Written amid a multiplicity of duties, and out of the actual experiences of life, the first draft was finished by Ignatius in 1550. He summoned to Rome all the Fathers who were easily accessible, in order to secure their criticisms of the work. Fourteen responded to the call and, save for some suggestions for minor changes, approved them as written. During the next two years Ignatius constantly worked on their revision and improvement. He then commissioned Fr. Cuadros to promulgate them in the Indies and Fr. Nadal to do the same in Europe. As actual experience suggested, he continued to improve on them until his death. The first General Congregation that met after that event to elect his successor adopted them as the binding law

of the Society. In fighting the enemies of the Vicar of Christ they were accepted as the Articles of War. To make them more universally accessible Polanco translated them from the Spanish into the Latin tongue.

The completion of the Constitutions was the climax of the lifework of Ignatius. In the Spiritual Exercises he had furnished an instrument for the molding and development of the individual soul. Now, in the Constitutions, with their inflexible strength and adaptable suppleness, he provided a medium by which the incoherent but consenting spirits became fused into a powerful unit, inspired with a common and mighty purpose and guided by one voice, in the world-wide campaign of the militant Church.

Chapter 8

The Soldier's Virtue

Devotion, which is a great gift of God . . . disposes and prepares the soul for all spiritual things, so that it runs with joy along the heavenward road, doing with sweetness and delight what he that hath it not finds hard and dry.

— Alonso de Orozco

THE supreme virtue of the soldier is obedience. The best-laid plans of his general, the selfless devotion of his comrades, and his own fitness and training may all count for naught if it is lacking. But by its powerful aid perils can be faced, obstacles conquered, and victory snatched, even in the face of seeming defeat. Into the service of the Holy See Ignatius brought those invaluable lessons that his early military training and campaigns had taught him. He rallied the wavering forces of the Church as he led his Company into action. The fine morale and splendid effectiveness of that Company was forged and stiffened by the iron discipline of obedience.

The General himself set the example. He asked his men to do only what he himself had done. When

the Company was instituted Ignatius and his followers took the solemn vows, and especially that of obedience to the pope. As one has said, "At a time when revolt was in every heart, at that moment Ignatius, Lainez, and Lefevre (Faber) threw themselves at the feet of the pope, devoting themselves and their posterity to the assurance of the triumph of the spirit of obedience" (*pour assurer le triomphe de principe d'obéissance*).¹ Upon that spirit of obedience, which he called "the firmest anchor of the soul," Ignatius laid especial emphasis. No man was fit to set over others and to govern well, he declared, unless he had taken all care to obey, and had learned to excel in this virtue.

In his letter on Obedience to the Jesuits of Portugal he tells them that they may allow themselves to be surpassed by other religious Orders in fastings, vigils, and the like, in the roughness of food and clothing which each receives according to its own rites and discipline, but he continues, "I am particularly anxious, dearest brethren, that you who serve in this Society be conspicuous for true and perfect obedience and abdication of will and of judgment; and that the true and germane character of the said Society be distinguished, as it were, by this note, that its members never look upon the person himself whom they obey, but see in him the Lord Christ for whose sake they obey." He enjoins it as a religious duty when he goes on to say that to subject one's judgment in obedience is to offer to God the noblest oblation. It is to present a holocaust in which the whole man is offered up. The Religious abandons all his rights, and devotes and transfers himself to God, through the guidance of his Superior. While it may not be easy to attain to this position, St.

¹ Cretineau-Joly, *Histoire*, I, 37.

Leo reminds us that "nothing is difficult to the humble, and nothing is hard to the meek."

Many were the eulogies that Ignatius uttered on Obedience. It not merely is productive of the highest benefits, but implants and preserves all other virtues. It is more excellent than all victims and sacrifices. It is the daughter of humility, the nurse of charity, the companion of justice, the guide and mistress of all religious virtues, the mother of concord and brotherly kindness, a safe and calm harbor, a perpetual and delicious banquet of the soul.² Obedience and Poverty are daughters of Humility. The one strips us of what we are, the other of what we possess. It is the oil which feeds and conserves the light of Charity, and the secure portal and perpetual guide of those who trust in God. "If obedience flourishes in you," he declared, "the other virtues will undoubtedly flourish also, and you will produce such fruit as I desire for you." Those who lack this virtue are not like fruitful grain corn, because they have not died to self.

Ignatius taught that there are two kinds of obedience. The first is common and imperfect, the other is perfect and complete. In this latter the power of obedience shines and the perfect virtue of the religious man appears. The imperfect obedience has eyes that tend to its own undoing. The perfect is blind, but in this is its wisdom (*sapienza consiste*). The first obeys with works and resists with the heart. The second carries out what is imposed upon it, and subjects its own will to the will and judgment of its Superiors, in all matters wherein there is no sin. One who not only obeys, but wills what the Superior wills and commands, arrives not only at perfection, but also passes

² Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 554 f.

beyond. When a Religious rises to this height he is truly dead to the world and alive to God. He is not agitated like the wind, but is calm like the sea.

In a letter to Fr. Giovanni Battista Viola, who had been sent to Paris for study, Ignatius declares concerning this blind obedience that it "is blind in two ways; first, it imposes upon the inferior the duty, where there is no question of sin, of submitting his understanding in the performance of all that he is ordered; second, it becomes no less the duty of the inferior, when the superior gives, or has given, some order, and he thinks there are reasons against, or difficulties with regard to the thing that is ordered, to represent with humility to the Superior the difficulties or reasons as they appear to him, without inducing him to one course of action more than another, with the intention of following afterwards, with a quiet mind, the course that shall be indicated or commanded to him."

For weak mortals to reach the ideal of perfect obedience Ignatius well knew would be a hard and difficult task. Spurning all lesser aids to that end he boldly directed the eyes of his sons to God as their hope and strength. They must first put themselves wholly in God's hands. Their gaze they must keep fixed not on their Superior, but on the One whom he represents. No ear must be given to the arguments of the flesh which make against obedience. Before their eyes must ever be kept the example of the saints, and especially of the Saint of Saints, who was obedient even to the death of the cross. Finally, they must arm themselves with prayer and clothe themselves with humility. In reply to a brother's request he wrote still further on the same theme, and said, "I am not my own, but His who created me, and his who stands in His place, to

manage and govern me as soft wax is molded. First, I must make myself like a dead body which has neither will nor sense (*a guisa d'un corpo morto che non ha ne volunta ne senso*). Secondly, like a little crucifix, which can be turned from one side to the other. Thirdly, I must make myself like a staff in the hand of an old man, so that he can place it where he pleases, and so that it can best aid him. So must I be prepared that Religion can use me in all things that are ordered me.”³

As the founder of the Company Ignatius was in the place of command, and opportunities were not frequent for displaying obedience himself. But all through his life he had been subject to the soldier's virtue, alike as a campaigner and as a Religious. During his austerities at Manresa he followed the example of a former saint and fasted for a week in order to obtain a spiritual blessing. This was so injurious to his health that when Ignatius disclosed it to his confessor he was wisely ordered to eat and trust in the mercy of God, under pain of being refused absolution. Ignatius complied with the command and sought the peace he craved in another way. When on his way to Jerusalem in 1523 he was offered free passage in a ship leaving Barcelona for Gaeta, but the captain stipulated that he must take provisions for the voyage. Ignatius thought this inconsistent with absolute faith in God for daily bread, and mentioned his scruples to his confessor. He was ordered to take advantage of the proffered help of his friends, and Ignatius embarked with a supply of biscuit.

Arrived at Jerusalem he desired to remain in order to visit the sacred places and to do good to souls, un-

³ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 558-562.

daunted by fear of capture by the Turks or of dire poverty. But when the Provincial refused that privilege, by virtue of papal authority, Ignatius returned to Europe forthwith. While he was studying at Alcala the Inquisitor came from Toledo to inquire into the life and teaching of Ignatius and his followers. They were cleared of any charge of wrongdoing, but were forbidden to continue to wear a distinctive garb or to go barefoot, and again unquestioning obedience was rendered to authority.⁴ The compulsion of obedience took him into the office of General. After his demur and re-election he put the matter into the hands of Theodosius, his confessor. He gave his decision in a letter to the Company and directed that Ignatius should assume the command. On one notable occasion sickness brought the General under the care of a young doctor. A mistaken diagnosis led him to prescribe heat and blankets in the middle of a Roman summer. Ignatius knew the treatment was wrong, but quixotically obeyed and endured. Fortunately an older doctor was called in before it was too late, reversed the treatment, and saved the patient's life.

Perfect obedience to the pope and submission to his will Ignatius enjoined upon his sons, and he lived by the same rule himself. When the companions found it impossible to go to Jerusalem Lainez said that he had a desire to go to India. Ignatius told him not to desire that, since they had vowed to go to any part of the world, and continued, "So if I desired to go to India I would strive to bend myself to that equality and indifference which is necessary to perfect obedience." At another time he said that if the pope bade him embark on a ship at the Port of Ostia without sail, helm, oar,

⁴ *Le Récit*, 31, 49, 61.

or mast, that he would do it with joy and content. One asked what sense or prudence there would be in that. "Prudence, Signor," said the General, "is not sought so much in him who obeys and carries out, as in him who ordains and commands (*la prudenza, Signore, non si recerca tanto in colui, che ubidisce e eseguisce quanto in colui, che ordina e che commanda*), and if there is prudence in obedience it must cease to be prudence rather than cease to obey."⁵

Pope Paul IV was not always friendly to Ignatius and the Company, but Ignatius followed his own rule in recognizing a Superior as being in the place of Christ. Even when he sent soldiers to search the Gesu, the church of the Society, on the pretext that they had arms concealed there, Ignatius would allow none of his men to speak a disparaging word against the Pontiff. As he said in his Letter on Obedience, the principle of obedience ran through the whole Society up to the General, and he, in turn, obeyed the Vicar of Christ.

Fr. Araoz delivered to Teresa Rejadella, of the Monastery of St. Clare, a letter that was written to her on November the fifteenth, 1543, by Ignatius. In it he declared: "Any rule of a holy founder can be made binding under the penalty of sin in so far as it is confirmed by the Vicar of Christ our Lord, or with his authority, by another."⁶ Though the rule of Obedience written into the Constitutions was approved by Pope Paul III in 1540, yet St. Ignatius did not wish his rules as such to bind under any pain of sin. Ten years later, practically in their final form, the Constitutions were sanctioned by Pope Julius III in the Bull, *Expositit*

⁵ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 564.

⁶ *Letters*, 67 f.

debitum, of July 21, 1550. The soldiers of the Company, won by the Spiritual Exercises, dominated by the same spirit, welded by the Constitutions into an effective unit, became a spiritual militia in which Obedience was the highest virtue. As St. John of the Cross once put it: "In obedience the human will conforms to the divine will, and the human soul to the divine."

Ignatius laid it down in the Constitutions that "it is especially conducive to advancement, nay, even necessary, that all yield themselves to perfect Obedience, regarding the Superior (be he who he may), as Christ the Lord; and submitting to him with inward reverence and affection let them obey not only in the outward performance of what he enjoins; entirely, promptly, resolutely, and with all due humility, without excuses or murmurs (*integre, prompte, fortiter, et cum humilitate debita, sine excusationibus, et obmurmurationibus obedient*), even though he order things hard to be done, and repugnant to their own sense; but let them also strive to acquire perfect resignation and denial of their own will and judgment, in all things conforming their will and judgment to that which the Superior wills and judges, where sin is not perceived."⁷ What is true of the Superior applies also to the subordinate officers, to whom likewise obedience must be given.

Repeatedly does Ignatius root the duty of obedience to superiors in the duty owed to God and Christ. "Holy Obedience shall be spoken of," he says, "in which virtue all must studiously endeavor to make great progress, not only in things obligatory, but in others even where there should appear the slightest

⁷ *Constitutiones*, III, 1, 23.

indication of the Superior's pleasure, without any express command. God our Creator and Lord should be set before our eyes, for whose sake obedience is paid to man (*Versari autem debet ob oculos Deus Creator ac Dominus noster, propter quem homini obedientia praestatur*); and care must be taken to proceed in the calm spirit of love, and not in the troubled spirit of fear, so that we may all strive with steadfast purpose to neglect no point of perfection to which by the divine grace we can attain, in the absolute observance of all the Constitutions, and the fulfillment of the peculiar object of our institute, and may most unremittingly exert every effort in displaying this virtue of Obedience, first to the Pope, then to the Superiors of the Society, so that in all things whereto Obedience proceeding from love can extend itself we may be most prompt to attend to his voice, just as if it proceeded from Christ our Lord (*ac si a Christo Domino egrederetur*), leaving every other thing, not staying to finish a letter even, which the pen is tracing, in our eagerness of instant compliance; directing all our energies to this object and intention in the Lord; so that holy Obedience may be perfect in us in every point, in execution, in will, in intellect, doing whatever is enjoined us with all celerity, with spiritual joy and perseverance.”⁸

This is certainly obedience to the very utmost of human achievement, and yet Ignatius set no lower standard before his men. In so doing, he followed all the great leaders who have understood the human soul, and have known the irresistible appeal to a fine nature of a seemingly impossible and yet supremely valuable task. Did not Christ set before His followers the naked

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 1.

agony of the cross? Ignatius knew the value of early training in any great quality of the soul. And so we find that in establishing the colleges of the Society he made provision for a corrector for those students whose work and morals were unsatisfactory. He was to "keep the boys in fear, and chastise those who need it, and who are capable of this sort of correction." They were also taught the value of instant response to a command. Caesar admired the swift obedience of his sailors who did all things at a nod (*ad nutum*); Ignatius desired a similar alacrity, and the students were trained to respond instantly at the sound of the given signal. This training of youth bore rich fruit in maturer years when those lads who had gone through his schools took up the active duties of the work. The leader cherished for his men an ideal of perfect self-abandonment, by which obedience would spring from the heart with joyous alacrity. In this high demand his men did not fail him.

With military exactness Ignatius demanded and received this perfect obedience from all ranks. Each member of the college at Messina, that was established in 1548, was asked to make a written declaration that he was ready to go and take any office to which the General might appoint him. Canisius declared that he was ready for Rome, India, or Sicily, and if Sicily, that he would go as cook, gardener, porter, scholar, or teacher. All the thirty-five members with him made a similar answer. Nor did old friendships or close ties lessen the demands that Ignatius made on his men in the way of obedience. In fact, it seemed at times as if he were more severe with his closest friends. After Lainez had been made Provincial of Italy in place of Broet, who had been sent to France, he had occasion to doubt

the wisdom of Ignatius' policy of drawing from the different cities of Italy their finest scholars to Rome. On his second remonstrance he received a stinging letter from the General challenging his sincerity as a Professed member of the Society, and demanding instant and absolute obedience. We have already noted his letter of utter submission. Lainez knew that he was a soldier on active service, and bowed to the word of command.

The story of Ignatius' life was taken down from his own lips by Gonzales, not many months before his death. One day the scribe broke the rule of a modest demeanor and downcast eyes. Anxious to see the expression on the face of the master he kept drawing closer. "Observe the rule," said the master, and when he offended again Ignatius broke off his story and turned away and left him.⁹ The censure of Bobadilla for condemning the Interim of the Emperor Charles V was another typical instance of the unbending discipline of the General. Fr. Marino, who was the head of the House for the Professed at Rome, was dismissed for persisting in his own way after being admonished and disciplined. "May God preserve me from spending a single night under the same roof with one who is obstinately disobedient," said the General. Incorrigible members were sternly dropped, even the brother of James Lainez being so excluded at Rome.

Few things in the Constitutions of Ignatius have called forth the criticism that has been given to this so-called "blind obedience." But Ignatius was essentially a soldier, and the Church was waging a desperate struggle for its very life. After the institution of the Society, and during the years that he was engaged

⁹ *Le Récit*, 6.

in writing, testing, and rewriting the Constitutions, Ignatius became increasingly aware of the nature of the conflict, and the part that his soldiers had to play. Corruption within the Church, and a growing Protestantism without, demanded heroic efforts to cope with them successfully. No High Command can tolerate disobedience, or even tardy obedience, in the throes of a bitter struggle. Victory or defeat hangs in the balance. With unerring military instinct Ignatius demanded absolute obedience, not from slaves or mercenaries, but from willing and self-surrendered soldiers.

Nor was such a demand a new thing within the ranks of the Church Militant. Basil had said that as an ax in the hand of the wood-cutter so should a member be in the hand of his Superior. The Carthusian monk offered his will as a sheep for the slaughter. Garcia de Cisneros had asked, "Is it anything of account . . . that you who are dust submit yourself to man for God's sake, when I, the Almighty and Supreme, submitted myself humbly to man for your sake?" Bonaventure declared that it is more meritorious for the sake of God to obey man, than to obey God direct. Ignatius saw the universe as a hierarchical system rising up to God. As he said in his letter on Obedience, God has appointed lower beings under higher, and these again under the highest, all obeying the law of their appointed place. The same phenomenon is observable in a well-ordered state. And the same plan is carried out in the Society, rising through the General up to its apex in the Vicar of Christ. Obedience through all the ranks binds them solidly together.¹⁰

But while stern Obedience was imposed it was not absolutely rigid. Ignatius knew human nature too well

¹⁰ Fulop Miller, 21-22.

for that. Provision is made for protest by the member who may be ordered to do something that he considers to be morally wrong. As a soldier he must obey, even up to the point of sin, "*usque ad peccatum*," but not into sin. Ignatius was a General, but not a tyrant, and he desired to force no man's conscience. Even outside of moral questions he allowed considerable latitude, within the limits of their commission, to those entrusted with authority. To Manares, writing from a distant college for instructions, he replied: "Oliver, do as you think best; fit the rules to the place in the best way you can." When Jerome Nadal was sent to Spain and Portugal as a special envoy, he was given a number of blanks, sealed and signed, to use for any letters that he might believe to be useful in the work of the Lord.

On one occasion, at least, Ignatius relaxed, perhaps the only time that he did so unwisely. It was when the trouble arose under Rodriguez, who was Provincial in Portugal. Ignatius divided Spain into the two provinces of Castile and Aragon, and sent Rodriguez to Aragon. He was unwilling to go, and when he did obey, his letters to his friends in Portugal rather inflamed the situation than allayed it. He was at length recalled to Rome, where he was treated by Ignatius with perhaps more consideration than he deserved.

Obedience was not an iron weight to crush out all individuality. There were times when Ignatius made the yoke lighter by quietly finding out what would be a welcome task, or place, and then assigning the member to that duty. The rights of the individual had been given new emphasis by the great movements, both cultural and religious, of the times. And of all this the splendidly trained minds of the Society were well aware. But obedience did make possible to members

of a Society scattered far and wide in isolated units the organized and effective unity of a formidable army to fight the battles of the Church. Alone at the dangerous outpost, where quick and vital decisions were required, or at the heart of the struggle raging in Europe, the members of the Company were united by the spiritual grace of Obedience into a living organism, consecrated to an imperial purpose *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*, "To the Greater Glory of God." And for the achievement of that purpose, in a full, free, and final surrender, each warrior devoted himself to Holy Obedience, the soldier's virtue.

Chapter 9

The Marshal's Baton

Blessed city, whose laws are of love, whose citizens are ruled by love, in which all love, whose office is love, where they know naught but to love. One wish have they, one will, one counsel. They love one thing, and are united with one thing; yea, that one thing—that is the one thing needful.

— *Pedro Malon de Chaide*

A GREAT Captain in the art of war is said to have remarked that every private carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack. The spirit of ambition and the hope of promotion, with due regard for the honor of the regiment and the traditions of the service, have inspired many a youthful recruit. But in the Company of Jesus such motives were sternly forbidden and rigorously repressed. If promotion came to a member through the will of a Superior, or even, as in the case of Ignatius, of the whole Company, it was to be humbly accepted and the duties faithfully discharged. But to desire

preferment was not for them. To seek or solicit it was to incur and receive heavy punishment. To become "God's soldier under the banner of the Cross" was honor enough. Dreams of personal advancement and the marshal's baton were replaced by the development of a magnificent *esprit de corps*.

Jealous concern for the Society and its mission, whatever might be the natural preference of the individual, was fostered by Ignatius in various ways. Rigid obedience through all the ranks of the Society developed it. It was also furthered by the eliminating of ambition, the acceptance of poverty, and the development of the spirit of concord, of brotherly love, through all the members.

Unworthy ambition and its attendant evils had helped greatly to bring the Church to its present most unhappy and perilous position. The undignified scramble for ecclesiastical preferment, the shameless putting of relatives in positions of wealth and power, the undisguised sale of rich and desirable benefices had brought too many of the hierarchy into contempt by outsiders, and into condemnation by shamed and faithful sons of the Church. It was an evil that had wrought great damage to Rome, and had been a powerful weapon in the hands of the Reformers. Ignatius was aware of its dire effects and sought to avert its baleful influence from his sons. While still students, in their early years in the Society, he strove to nip in the bud any appearance of it. Like Cardinal Wolsey to his young friend Cromwell he said, in effect, to his disciples, "I charge thee fling away ambition, by that sin fell the angels."

Dealing in the Constitutions with those who, after due examination, are being advanced to the usual de-

grees, he exhorts them not to seek to occupy places of pre-eminence at their graduation, or put on any style unbecoming to humility, in order that they may avoid every appearance of ambition and other inordinate passions (*ut ab omni ambitionis specie atque ab aliis affectibus parum temperatis recedant*). A little later he deals with those who are being advanced to the degrees of Masters of Arts and Doctors of Divinity, and says, "That the door may be closed against ambition, no fixed places shall be assigned to those who are raised to degrees (*ut p̄aecludatur ostium ambitioni, nullis locis certis eis, qui ad gradus promoventur, assignatis*), but rather let them study in honor to prefer one another, without observing any differences of places."¹

As his sons advanced to higher grades in the Society, and especially when they reached the ranks of the Professed, the General was most solicitous to uproot, or to prevent, any possible growth of the evil. He declares in strong and simple words: "It will be also of great importance for the perpetual preservation of the Society in its prosperous condition, most diligently to remove ambition, the mother of all evils in every commonwealth and society (*Erit etiam summi momenti, ut perpetuo felix Societatis status conservetur, diligentissime ambitionem malorum omnium in quavis Republica vel congregazione matrem submoveat*) and to preclude all approach to dignity, and the seeking of any preferment in the Society, directly or indirectly. To effect this, let all the Professed vow to God and our Lord that they will never do anything to obtain it, and that they will inform against any whom they discover so

¹ *Constitutiones*, IV, VI, 17; and IV, XV, 4.

doing; and they shall be accounted incapable and disqualified for any preferment, of whom it can be proved that they solicited it. They shall promise also to God and our Lord that they will not treat for any preferment or dignity out of the Society, nor yield their assent to their own election to any such office, as far as possible, if Obedience to him who can enjoin them under penalty of sin compel them not; but let everyone consider by what means he can promote the salvation of souls in the humility and submission of our profession; and let not the Society be deprived of the men who are necessary to the end it has in view.”²

These words reveal one of the natural fears of Ignatius. Apart from the evil effects of ambition upon the mind of the individual, the opening of the door to preferment constituted a grave menace to the Society. If king or pope saw a man of fine talents and sound learning, of zeal and fidelity, of sincere and unselfish purpose, it was almost certain that he would covet such a man for high and responsible office in Church or State. But this would mean that the Society would be constantly drained of its noblest and ablest sons. On the other hand, if the door were opened on account of merit, it would be very difficult to close it against scheming ambition. Deterioration of both individual members and the Society would be inevitable. As Pope Gregory XIII, a friend of the Society at a later date, said to Cardinal Cornaro, “Never give your consent to the elevation of a member of the Society to any dignity whatever, for their ruin would enter by that door were it ever opened.”³ It is true that in after times the rule

² *Ibid.*, X, 1, 6.

³ Bartoli, *Life*, II, 113.

was not rigidly adhered to. Even the red hat of the Cardinal was worn by a few such as Lugo, Toletus, and Robert Bellarmine, one of the brightest ornaments of both the Society and the Cardinalate. But the wish and law of Ignatius has been generally followed by his sons, save in such exceptional cases as he himself provided for in "obedience to him who can enjoin them under penalty of sin."

The fears of the General regarding the demands likely to be made upon his sons were speedily justified. King Ferdinand of Austria, looking for good men to lead the Church against the Lutherans, chose Le Jay as Bishop of Trieste. When he refused the offer Ferdinand wrote to the pope asking him to command Le Jay to take the office, since his piety, zeal, and learning marked him out as the man best fitted for it. On hearing of the matter Ignatius strove hard to prevent the appointment. He urged on Pope Paul II the strongest reasons against it. "I fear to lose the fruits of all our labors. It is putting this new plant in great danger. I do not wish cupidity and ambition to choke all that has grown up to the present. This bishopric would not only cause us to lose Le Jay but it would open the door to losing many others." After his famous reference to the Company being the light cavalry of the Church, he continued, "The credit and reputation of the Company among the vulgar also moves me, since it is necessary that a preacher in order to move others be held in good opinion, and that they know that not promotions (*facolta*) but souls are sought. It would be very difficult to persuade them that our men had such aims if they saw us in prominent places, and accepting bishoprics. . . . They would attribute it to ambition and cupidity,

not obedience and love." Not getting a favorable reply at once, Ignatius ordered prayers and masses to be offered by the Society for a right decision. He himself visited all the cardinals. He wrote to the King of the Romans urging his reasons against preferment as strongly as other men would have done in seeking it. And he at last carried his point. Ferdinand ordered his ambassador to drop the matter.⁴ This first victory rendered it easier to win later conflicts.

Some years later Ferdinand wanted Canisius as Bishop of Vienna, and requested Pope Julius III to name him for the office. Again Ignatius successfully resisted, although he did concede the demand of Ferdinand that Canisius should publish his famous "Catechism," a powerful attack on the Protestant position. He also allowed Canisius to administer the See, but without touching its revenues. When the Emperor Charles V wished to bestow the red hat of the cardinal on Francis Borgia, Polanco wrote to Borgia telling him that Ignatius had been able to block the matter so that it would not be given without Borgia's consent, but that Ignatius knew that "he would not cover his head with this hat." Borgia refused it and retired to Oñate, near Loyola, to become the master builder of the Order in Spain.

One occasion arose when Ignatius was forced to submit to Pope Julius III "under obedience." At the request of King John III of Portugal, and with the hope that the Emperor of Ethiopia might become favorably disposed to the Church, Julius appointed Nuñez as Patriarch of Ethiopia, and Oviedo and Carnero as Bishops to accompany him. Ignatius resisted this, as he

⁴ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 269 f.

had bidden in the Constitutions, "until the Apostolic See obliges under pain of mortal sin and will admit of no excuse." But at length he had to bow to the will and command of the pope.

His men followed their leader unswervingly in his views regarding preferments. Faber and Lainez both vowed before ambassadors of Charles V never to take office in the Church. This vow, and the objections of Ignatius, later prevented Pope Paul IV from making Lainez a cardinal. While Pope Marcellus II was still a cardinal he once said, in dispute with Fr. Olave, that the Company would have done better service for the Church if it had given good bishops instead of good preachers and confessors. Olave replied that the Company would do better to preserve its simplicity and purity. "But if not," said he, "the order of Father Ignatius is enough for us." "I give in," said the cardinal, "Greater is the authority of Ignatius than all the reasons in the world since God, through him, has founded such an Order."

Closely allied with the evil of inordinate ambition that had wrought such havoc in the Church, against which Ignatius sought to guard his men, was the scourge of cupidity. Besides the political power conferred on the holder of high ecclesiastical rank, such office also meant the enjoyment of rich revenues, and this had helped to further the cause of the Reformation. England had revolted against sending out wealth to absent, foreign prelates. Tetzel's preaching had provoked the soul of Luther. Avarice had become a shameful sin in the life of the Church, and Ignatius desired to avoid its devastating power. He therefore inculcated not only the observance of poverty but a positive love

for it: "Let all love Poverty as their mother," he said, "and according to the measure of holy discretion let them experience some of its results as occasion offers." Again he said, "That they may know the value of holy Poverty let all be taught to use nothing as their own."

The Professed were to live on alms, and all should be prepared to beg if necessary. No provision should be asked for when sent on a mission by the pope. Property could be held only for the colleges and novitiates. Neither could any member make a will nor act as executor for any person. Unlike the rich young ruler they gave up all their possessions to follow Christ and then, like the brethren in the primitive Church, they shared all things in common. To the very extreme of dire poverty they were to be willing to be stripped of everything. "Thus in the same way as to Poverty — not having, nor expecting to have anything of our own — I am clothed and ornamented like a statue which makes no resistance when, or for any reason, they take away the ornaments with which it was shortly before covered" (*io sono vestito et ornato a guisa d'una statua la quale alcuna resistenza non fa*).⁵

In this rule of life Ignatius carried his men with him. They decided on a life of poverty before taking the vows at Montmartre, and also that they would accept no remuneration for any spiritual ministrations. This was written into the Constitutions for the guidance of future members. "Since Poverty is as the strongest rampart to Religious Orders, to maintain them, in their due state and discipline, and defend them from numerous enemies (for which reason the Devil labors to destroy it in various ways), it greatly

⁵ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 563.

concerns the security and extension of the whole body entirely to remove every appearance of avarice; accepting no revenues, nor possessions, nor stipends, for preaching the word of God, or lectures, or masses, or for the administration of the Sacraments, or in short, for any spiritual concerns, nor applying the incomes of the Colleges to their own use.”⁶

In pursuance of the life of poverty, and the constant reliance on Providence for daily bread that it implied, the Fathers were often reduced to short provisions, but aid always came along in time. In a letter to Pietro Contarini dated at Venice in August, 1537, Ignatius speaks of their condition and their faith. He says, “Hitherto by the goodness of God we have prospered materially; we experience every day more and more the truth of the text, ‘having nothing and yet possessing all things,’ all things, that is, which the Lord has promised that He would bestow upon those who seek first the Kingdom of God and His Justice. But if all things shall be bestowed upon those who seek first the Kingdom of God and His Justice, can anything be wanting to those who seek only the justice of God and His Kingdom, those whose reward is not so much of the dew of heaven and the fruit of the earth, as of the dew of heaven alone? . . . Near Vicenza at a place outside the gate called Santa Croce we found a monastic house which bears the name of S. Pietro in Riccasolo, occupied by no one. And so the brethren of Maria delle Grazie of Vicenza are content to let us stay there at our pleasure. This we are doing, and shall continue to do if God permits. Consequently we have no capital to

⁶ *Constitutiones*, X, 1, 5; also III, 1, 7 and 25.

begin with, except our efforts after sanctity and perfection."⁷ Through the years, in the Houses at Rome and elsewhere, the daily faith was constantly vindicated in the supply of daily bread.

The desire for pre-eminence was repressed in a positive way by the cultivation of a spirit of genuine altruism and unified thought. And again it finds permanent expression in the Constitutions. "Let all think, let all speak, as far as possible, the same thing, according to the Apostle. . . . All difference of opinion regarding matters of business should be avoided as much as possible, which is usually the source of discord and unfriendly to mutual goodwill; and, on the other hand, let union and reciprocal conformity be diligently upheld and whatever is destructive of them be discouraged; so that thus united in the bonds of fraternal love individuals may more efficaciously and successfully employ themselves in the service of God and the benefit of their fellow men."⁸ The better to foster this spirit of unity the numbers of the Professed were to be kept small by the most rigid selection.

In the matter of Obedience the leaders were to outshine the rest. The author of dissension was to be excluded. The General was the visible sign of the union that found its source in love to God and thence to man. Ignatius desired his men to see in each other Christ alone. In the midst of many languages there was to be one heart. And in such a stimulating comradeship moral and intellectual faculties acquired a new vigor. The purity of their zeal in the common cause seemed to double their natural capacity. "Each for all, and all

⁷ *Letters*, 41 f.

⁸ *Constitutiones*, III, 1, 18.

for each," in the bonds of Christian brotherhood provided a sterile soil for the spirit of self-seeking.

Most impressive is the testimony to this loving humility of Fr. Louis Strada, a monk of the Order of St. Bernard. "Certainly what I have witnessed in several houses of that holy Society appears to me to be marvelous, and even supernatural. Men not only of different birth, but differing in country and language, some, young students, others, old teachers, become in a short time so entirely united in spirit, so bound together by ties of mutual charity, that they have really but one heart and one soul."⁹ And what was obvious to the outsider was gratefully acknowledged by those inside the fellowship. "In the Company such joining of Letters with Humility, Prudence with Obedience, Youth with Chastity; in the Superiors such gravity and yet such singular charm." The figure of Augustine used in exposition of the one hundred and fiftieth Psalm has been fittingly applied to the Order. Each chord in the lyre has a distinct sound, and yet is in such concord with the others that when struck together they produce harmony.

In days of adversity and trial this "cement" of brotherly love held fast, as Ignatius reminded the Jesuits who had been banished from Cologne. He writes them at the end of 1544 as follows: "Though you are separated from one another in body and in habitation, still with the help of God you will easily secure that brotherly affection should continue to exist and be manifested among you; seeing that both by your voluntary acceptance of your obligations, your common desires in life, and the vows you have duly taken, you

⁹ Bartoli, *Life*, II, 101.

have bound yourselves by so firm a bond to one another for the glory of Jesus Christ. By this cement, if I may so call it, it is right that our whole family should be united and cemented together.”¹⁰ And in that spirit of altruistic, self-sacrificing, brotherly love, Ignatius quenched among his sons the grasping spirit of pre-eminence, the “Mother of all evils in every Society.”

¹⁰ *Letters*, 71.

Chapter 10

The Holy War

If thou have not love, all thy toils, though they exceed all that men and devils have suffered and do suffer, are vain and fruitless. . . . In brief, thou wilt be as holy as thou art loving, and no more.

— *Juan de los Angeles*

IGNATIUS had consecrated his own military instincts and ambitions to the service of Christ. He had brought into being a small, mobile, disciplined, and devoted army. That force of eager warriors had been commissioned by the pontiff. For Christ and His Vicar Ignatius was now ready to lead forth his men into the holy war.

Others had engaged before his time in consecrated warfare, some with carnal weapons. Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit at Clermont, in 1095, had launched the chivalry of Europe into the Crusades. For nearly two hundred years various expeditions of Christian warriors tried to wrest and hold the sacred places in the Holy Land from the Moslem power. Spain had recently concluded her long struggle of eight centuries by victory over her Moorish conquerors. But victory

had been sought by others with spiritual weapons. In 1212 Francis of Assisi attempted to evangelize the Moors in Spain. Seven years later he joined the Crusaders then besieging Damietta. Allowing himself to be captured he was brought before the Sultan, and permitted to visit the Holy Land. A little later Raymon Lull, that eccentric thinker whose views were afterwards condemned by the Holy See, was converted in 1266 when he was a young man of thirty-one. For nearly fifty years, by his study of Arabic, by his attempts to stir up missionary zeal in the capitals of Europe, and by his own preaching in Tunis and elsewhere, he sought to present the Gospel to the Moslem world. Only his martyrdom in 1315, when he was stoned to death at Bougie, brought his warfare to a close.

At first Ignatius apparently cherished somewhat similar though rather inchoate plans. He desired for a time to imitate St. Francis. When "he went to bed a soldier and arose a Christian" he faced uncharted seas of spiritual exploration and Christian service, the "*Christophe Colomb de la Sanctification.*" At this time he did not think to give himself to any particular way of life, he tells us, although thoughts of a life of penitence and mortification at Jerusalem appealed to him. According to a card written in his own hand, and found years later by Ribadeneira, he determined on arriving at Jerusalem to remain there the rest of his life. But on his return to Barcelona his future course of action was still obscure. He did not know whether to join some religious order, or to gather companions around himself, although the latter course appealed the more strongly to him.

But the dream of a new Crusade to win Jerusalem

still persisted in the mind of Ignatius. At Paris he disclosed his hopes to his companions, one by one. And when at Montmartre they made the vows, he set before them the vision of a "Jerusalem Delivered." Their unanimous response was "the Holy Land," but vaster enterprises for them was the will of Providence. To a life of apostolic labor, as an alternative, they were equally sympathetic.

They all melted in emotion when Ignatius challenged them to Christlike service in united effort. "What strength each will receive in the union of all your efforts, when, bound together, you will form but one body and one soul. Were we to shut ourselves up and enjoy God in the delights of contemplation, we should pass a less fatiguing life, one more exempt from danger, more peaceful, in short, more agreeable. . . . Can we ourselves be consumed with divine love without endeavoring to revive the ardor of lukewarm hearts? Can we walk the way that leads to heaven without stretching out a helping hand to those who have wandered from the way?"¹ When Ignatius went to Spain as a sick man they still planned to go and spend their lives in the service of souls at Jerusalem. If they were not permitted to stay, as had been the case with their leader, they would place themselves in the hands of the pope. Ignatius intimated to John Castro his former friend, when visiting him on the way from Spain to Venice, that he cherished a hope for a brotherhood of service, although he had then no definite plans. But that hope was only a fugitive one in the heart of Ignatius. Lainez later declared: "When we were at Paris our intention was not to found an Order, but to pass in poverty a life dedicated to help-

¹ Bartoli, 1, 187.

ing our neighbors by preaching and serving in hospitals, and to go to Jerusalem to help ourselves and others, the faithful and the infidel."

The inexorable pressure of events swung them gradually from thoughts of Jerusalem to the formation of an Order. The war with Suleiman blocked all sailings for Jerusalem, a very rare occurrence. For a year they waited before abandoning hope, but at length they sent back to Rome the money that had been given to them for the journey by the pope and cardinals. Ignatius apprised Fr. Juan de Verdolay at Barcelona, in a letter dated at Venice, the twenty-fourth of July, 1537, of the turn of events. He wrote:

"All this year, though they have waited patiently for a passage to Jerusalem, there has been no ship at all, nor will there now be, on account of the fleet that is being equipped by the Turks. So we have decided that the drafts that were drawn for the two hundred and sixty ducats should be sent to Rome, and that the money should remain in the hands of those who collected it as alms for them; for we have no desire to use this money except for the said voyage, and are unwilling that anyone should come to think that we hunger and thirst after the things for which the world dies. This repayment made, for the money has been sent already, and this letter written, they will soon leave here, two by two, to do whatever work they may be able with the grace of God our Lord, for whose sake they set out. In this way they will go about Italy here and there until next year, in the hope that then they will be able to go to Jerusalem. Should God our Lord dispose otherwise, they will wait no longer, but will proceed with the work they have begun. Here several parties have expressed the desire to join us, men not

wanting in learning, but we are careful rather to refuse them than to increase our numbers, for fear of failures. I conclude praying God our Lord through His infinite and supreme goodness to give us abundant grace to perceive His most holy will and to carry it out entirely,

From Venice, July 24, 1537.

Poor in goodness,
Yñigo.”²

So far their warfare had been waged against sin, sickness, and poverty, with Jerusalem in the background. But when they were called to Rome the next year, in the middle of Lent, their leader told them that “Heaven has closed the road to Palestine to open to us the universe.” For three months they labored by day for souls; at night they conferred, prayed, and studied. At length the decision was made that resulted in the institution of the Society. And now the battle fronts on which they were to wage war became gradually clear and distinct. There emerged the conflict with corruption within the Church, the campaign against heresy, and the warfare with heathendom. Each part of the field promised a stern and uncertain conflict for the forces of the papacy, but Ignatius deployed his troops with the utmost skill for the succor of the Church.

“He enlisted a sacred militia for the extermination of the enemies which in those days arose against the people of God, and furnished them with those arms with which through the assistance of God they have combated, and still continue to combat, for the service

² *Letters*, 36 f.

and glory of His Church." Thus spake the voice of his followers who, as they looked back on the stirring days of the first Fathers, felt that their leader had indeed come to the kingdom for such a time, and that the enlistment of his men in the holy warfare was part of the divine will. "It pleased God Himself," to quote again, "to oppose this barrier [the Company] to the ignorance of infidels, the perversity of heretics, and the corruptions of Catholics."³

The serious abuses engaged in, or connived at, by many Church leaders were known and deplored by all good men. Erasmus wrote to a friend in 1521, "The corruption of the Church, the degeneracy of the Holy See is universally admitted. I doubt whether in the whole history of Christianity the heads of the Church have been so grossly corrupt as at the present moment." And far better Churchmen than the somewhat vacillating scholar were not ignorant of it. The noble Pope Adrian VI, truly anxious to promote the reformation of flagrant abuses, instructed Chieregati, his nuncio to Germany, to this effect: "You are to say that we openly confess that God permits this persecution of His Church because of the sins of men, and especially the sins of priests and prelates of the Church." Ignatius knew all this and the strength given to the Reformation movement because of these evils, but he instructed his men not to draw public attention to such abuses. By the pureness of their lives, by their unflagging zeal, and by their Christlike service, they were to cut the ground from under the protest of the Reformers. At the same time corrupt men in the Church might be stung into a cleansing penitence and wholesome reform.

³ Bartoli, *Life*, I, Preface and 239.

Intimately linked with the great need of reform in the Church, and indeed growing out of it, was the terrible menace to the Catholic Church of a rising Protestantism. So large a share did it demand of the energies of the immediate successors of Ignatius that some have thought of the Company as having been organized expressly to combat it. This is not correct, as we have learned, but even during the lifetime of Ignatius it was a steadily growing danger. It was on the first of November, 1517, that Luther nailed his ninety-five Theses to the church door at Wittenberg, and the Company was not instituted until 1540. The same year that the friends took the vows at Montmartre, King Henry VIII of England denounced the pope.

With increasing clearness as the years passed Ignatius saw the urgent need to stem the rising tide. Quietly but effectively he opposed the breakwater of his Company, and beat back, in large measure, the peril so gigantic. And so, to many of his followers, he was indeed a "man of courage and a valiant soldier of God, whom His Majesty sent to the Church in these perilous times to oppose the bold daring of the heretics, who made war on their own Mother."

Not less urgent for soldiers of valor, for men of loving and courageous endurance, was the call from distant lands. Almost dazzling in their prospects for lucrative occupation were the new worlds, both east and west, that challenged eager spirits from the old lands of Europe. Ignatius saw them as new realms to win for Christ. The Macedonian call did not go unheeded. Some of his noblest sons answered with selfless devotion. High on the honor roll of the Church of Christ stand names of the Company of Jesus, who, into lands

of dark cruelty and ancient superstition, carried the light and liberty of the Gospel.

Simple, apostolic, and effective were the methods of these new warriors of the cross. Poor, ragged, at times half starved, often "a spectacle to men and angels," they excited derision or pity. They did not move in mass formation, like the Crusaders of earlier days. They did not even go in companies, like the mercenary troops of the time. In ones, and twos, and small groups, like the disciples and apostles of old, they moved out to battle with the forces arrayed against them. No Spanish cavalier or prelate of the Church would have traveled as they did, trudging and often barefoot.

Their leader set them the example. Only under necessity did he fail to travel as a poor man on foot. When he went from Salamanca and Barcelona to Paris he got a donkey on which to pack his books and few belongings. As a sick man seeking new health in his native air his friends in Paris bought him a beast, and "on a little horse he took the mountain road toward Spain." A few months later, when leaving home for the last time, his brother Martin was shocked that a Spanish gentleman should travel as Ignatius proposed to do. In deference to his feelings Ignatius accepted a mount, and accompanied by Martin rode as in the old days to the confines of the province.

But almost invariably Ignatius made his numerous journeys and traversed the lands of Europe on foot. After leaving his brother, a perilously stormy voyage brought him to Genoa. Thence he took his dangerous way over the Apennines, fording rapid rivers, scrambling over dangerous cliffs, and wading through the flooded roads of Lombardy. Entering Bologna he fell

into a filthy ditch, to the contemptuous derision of the people. Although it was a wealthy city he could not obtain there even a piece of bread. He made his way eventually to Venice, but "always in the same manner."

Owing to the prevalence of the plague travel in Italy was then hard for a poor man. Many cities refused to admit traveling strangers lest they might carry infection. Hunger, and even starvation, faced those who, like Ignatius, depended on alms for their daily bread. But the spirit of the man was indomitable. Not even sickness could restrain him. On one occasion he and Lainez were both sick at Vicenza when word came that Rodriguez was desperately ill at Bassano, a day's journey distant. Ignatius set out at once and walked so rapidly, despite his weakness, that Faber who was with him could not maintain the pace.

The disciple is not above his master, and when the companions left Paris on November 15, 1536, facing the long road to Venice, they set out on foot. Poorly clad they marched through the dead of winter. For fifty-two days they made their way over poor roads and mountain passes with no money to buy food. Passing through France they suffered from daily rains. In Germany frost and snow had to be endured. But they persevered manfully until they reached their goal. Again they took the road, this time toward Rome, and once more passed through terrible hardships from impassable trails and scanty food. But their hearts were full of joy because they were enduring pain and hardship for the love of God.

In the letter to Fr. Juan de Verdolay already referred to, Ignatius thus describes their journeys: "There arrived here from Paris in the middle of January nine friends of mine in the Lord, all Masters of Arts and

well versed in theology, four of them Spanish, two French, two from Savoy, and one from Portugal. All passed through many troubles, what with the wars and the long journeys on foot in the midst of winter; they took up their quarters in two hospitals and arranged so as to attend to the sick poor in the lowliest offices, and those most repugnant to the flesh. After two months spent in this work they went on to Rome, followed by some others on the same errand, which was to spend Holy Week there. Although they were in great poverty, without money, without recommendation from anyone in the shape of letters or anything else, trusting and hoping in the Lord, whom they came to seek, they found, and without any trouble, much more than they sought." Thus did they travel on the rare occasions when several members of the Company were going together. A number made their way to Coimbra when King John III founded the college there. The weaker preceded the strong, thus setting the pace for the group. If one fell sick all would stay for a few days to permit of recovery, but should the sickness be prolonged the leader would remain behind to nurse the sick one back to health. Generally, however, both in the Old World and the New, the Company pushed the war with a small number or a single champion.

Such was the Holy War to which the soldiers of the Company were vowed. Mean, and even vile it appeared in comparison with the pomp and magnificence with which the kings of the earth waged war. But to the eye that could pierce beneath the surface of things how glorious was the warfare they waged. Eternal were the issues involved. The weapons of their warfare were not carnal but spiritual. The trophies of conquest were

the souls of men. And their allegiance and victory were offered not to an earthly monarch but to the King of Kings.

Holding the faith as held by the Roman Catholic Church to be the true faith, Ignatius defined the scope of the struggle to be waged in the Institute submitted to Pope Paul III, confirmed with slight differences in the Bull of Julius III. "The Company is founded to employ itself entirely in the defense and spread of the holy Catholic faith, and to help souls in Christian life and doctrine, by preaching, by public reading of the Scriptures, by giving the Spiritual Exercises, by teaching Christian doctrine to children and the ignorant, by hearing confessions and administering the Sacraments. It is also instituted to appease quarrels, to help prisoners in jails, and sick in hospitals; and all must be done by the Company gratuitously, without expecting any human wages or salary for its labors."⁴ These aims were stamped with pontifical approval.

Prompt and unquestioning obedience to any command from the pope was the core of the vows made by the Professed. "While all Christ's faithful people are subject to the Roman Pontiff," declared Ignatius, "we have deemed it highly conducive that each one of us be bound by a special vow, beyond that general obligation, so that whatsoever the present and other Roman Pontiffs for the time being shall ordain, pertaining to the advancement of souls, and the propagation of the faith, and to whatever provinces he shall resolve to send us, we are straightway bound to obey, so far as in us lies, without any evasion or excuse, whether he send us among the Turks, or to any other unbelievers in

⁴ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 302 f.

being, even in those parts called India; or to any heretics or schismatics, or likewise to any believers." This expression of unflinching service is written into the Bull of Institution of Pope Paul III. And that special vow of obedience to bind his sons in unswerving devotion for all time Ignatius wrote into the Constitutions. "Moreover, I promise special obedience to the pope in Missions."

With the papacy in such straits from able and daring foes at home, and with new lands to be won afar, what could the Holy See reply to such an offer, from such soldiers eager for the fray, but to answer in the words of Pope Marcellus II: "You are soldiers ready for battle. I will make use of you."

Chapter 11

The Conflict with Corruption Within the Church

Men love riches, love honors, long life, tranquillity, wisdom, strength, joys and such like things, and with so great a love do they love them, that many a time for their sakes they are ruined. O foolish and base lovers, that love the shadow and despise the substance, that go to fish in dirty pools and forget the sea. If each of these things deserves to be loved for itself, how much more should He be loved who is of greater worth than them all.

— *Luis de Granada*

A TREMENDOUS struggle awaited the forces of reform within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church. Some had come to feel, with Luther, that the decline had proceeded too far to hope for recovery, and that there had to be a new beginning. Concerning the imperative need for reform there is no room for dispute. A recent Jesuit historian, whose untimely death is a deplorable

loss to modern scholarship, has said: "At the beginning of the sixteenth century no feeling was more general or insistent among Christian peoples than the desire for a reform. All deplored the appalling moral decadence of the Church. In sermons, books of history, moral treatises, comedies, satires, in every possible form of literature, the vices of society were denounced and a remedy demanded. But in the midst of this general longing for reform there were but few who applied themselves seriously to bring it about. Among the few was St. Ignatius. Without writing any discourse or satire, or invective against vice, he labored to the utmost to root it out and to renew in the Church the Spirit of Christ."¹

The tragical thing was that the "vices of society" and the "appalling moral decadence of the Church," of which Father Astrain speaks, were indulged in by many who were ostensibly shepherds of the flock. The curse of Simon Magus had grown to be a devouring evil among the clergy, to the disgust and often rage of their people. "I see," said a Spaniard, "that we can scarcely get anything from Christ's ministers but for money; at baptism money, at marriage money, for confession money, no, not extreme unction without money. They will ring no bells without money, no burial in the church without money; so that it seemeth that Paradise is shut up from them that have no money." That this is but a specimen of the deep-seated and universal feeling there is, unhappily, abundant evidence.

Among the literature of condemnation to which Father Astrain refers, none was more trenchant than

¹ Astrain, *Life*, 78.

that from a Scottish pen. It came from one who was no mere satirist or smart critic of religion. On the contrary, he took his place frankly and devoutly within the life of the Church. William Dunbar was born in the year 1460, was well read and widely traveled, and became an Observant friar. His poetry reflected the religious conditions of the time in Scotland. He describes how parish livings changed hands at the gaming table. His satirical and sometimes savage songs reflect his scorn for the simony and immorality of the clergy, both secular and regular.² And against this fatal greed of gold Ignatius opposed his men, sworn to poverty, receiving no emoluments for teaching, confession, Masses, or any other exercises of their sacred office. Such an example, as the common people became aware of it, served as a powerful corrective for the bitter feelings engendered by the "blind mouths" of the Church.

The immorality, also, scored by Duncan and others, was another deep-rooted cancer in the body hierarchical. The vicious lives of many priests and prelates had given a powerful impetus to the Reformation movement. One Imperial ambassador to the Doge could write in 1535 that there were few in Venice who were not more Lutheran than Luther himself with regard to such matters as the reform of the clergy. Fr. Faber, writing to Ignatius from the Diet of Worms in 1540, had to confess: "It is not the false interpretations of Scripture, nor the sophistry which the Lutherans introduce into their sermons, that have caused so many nations to apostatize, and so many towns and provinces to revolt against religion. All the mischief is done by

² Macewan, *History of the Church of Scotland*, I, 391.

the scandalous lives of the clergy. The notorious lives of churchmen drive Catholics to become Lutherans by the spectacle of their dissolute lives."³

To overthrow this giant evil, entrenched within the very ramparts of the Church, Ignatius advanced with his men, a veritable Sir Galahad, in his resistless strength. From all desires of the flesh he had been delivered, following the vision of the Blessed Virgin soon after his conversion. Henceforth no breath of suspicion from this quarter ever tainted his life. For his men he was equally solicitous. Only after long and severe proof was a man admitted into the ranks. The most rigid regulations then governed his conduct toward women, and as a consequence it was with the utmost rarity that scandal of that sort ever touched the Company. The objection made by Cardinal Guidicciione against the institution of the Company was that the existing Orders had become so corrupt that it was better to let them die without creating others. That criticism withered before the well-nigh stainless chastity of the sons of Ignatius.

Others had felt the need of banding together for effective reform. The Theatines had been founded when the gentle Gaetano da Thiene and the impetuous Peter Caraffa, with two other intimate friends, took vows on the fourteenth of September, 1524. Caraffa, who had given up high office and lucrative emoluments in the Church, secured a Bull from Pope Clement VII approving the new Order. Their members were drawn from noble families and they not only renounced their wealth, but also vowed to abstain from begging. They would take only what was freely

³ Hollis, *Ignatius Loyola*, 197.

offered. With rigid devotion to preaching, administering the sacraments, and the care of the sick, the Order speedily became a seminary for bishops.⁴ Ignatius refused overtures to unite with this zealous Order. He said that each Order must remain in its natural state, follow separately its own Rule, and hold to its particular end. He made one of the few outstanding mistakes of his life in his attitude toward Caraffa, a mistake that caused trouble on more than one occasion in after years. Caraffa was of noble birth. As Bishop of Chieti he had carried out great reforms in his diocese. His vast learning had been praised by Erasmus. He had gone as Papal legate to Henry VIII of England. That a man of his caliber should receive a rebuking letter from an unknown Spanish priest, as Ignatius then was, suggests a most indiscreet zeal on the part of the writer. The letter was written while awaiting his companions at Venice in 1536, and Ignatius spared neither disapproval nor censure.

"I think that I have arguments enough," he says, "with probable reasons and sufficient conjectures, to fear or suspect — I speak in perfect peace, love, and charity — that as to the Society which God our Lord has given you, the more I know of it the more I think it would be better for the praise and service of the Lord if it did not increase; and assuredly on this matter I do not speak out as much as I think." This was certainly not mincing words or concealing sentiments, but Ignatius makes a further attack based on Caraffa's still noble style of living. Its somewhat clumsy forms of expression would not help to commend it the more favorably to a scholar like Caraffa. "Secondly, the fact

⁴ Ranke, *History of the Popes*, I, 117.

that anyone born and brought up in the midst of nobility, even though those days are over and done with, should still be somewhat better dressed, and should have for his dwelling a house rather more superb and somewhat better ornamented, considering those that come and go, than others of the Society, can cause me no scandal or disedification." After this thrust Ignatius goes on to suggest that the example of less ostentation would be a finer spur to the members who are influenced by the words and deeds of a Superior. He then criticizes the attitude of Caraffa's society toward begging, holding that all those who live under obedience "are entitled to food and raiment" (*victus et vestitus*). Continuing still further he says: "I say nothing of other matters of greater moment, for I would not entrust them to a letter, matters not suggested or imagined by myself but raised, or understood, or asserted by others. It is enough for me to put before you and expose just the matters which I have weighed and pondered over, as I would do it to my own soul alone."⁵

In view of this very plain speaking to one whose virtues and ability were to carry him within nineteen years to the occupancy of the Chair of St. Peter, it is not surprising that in the years to come relations between the future Pope Paul IV and Ignatius were not the most cordial.

There were also other Orders that were not on very friendly terms with Ignatius and his men, although later years brought to some of them a changed attitude. There was considerable jealousy on the part of some of the Franciscans, while at Salamanca Melchior Cano

⁵ *Letters*, 31 f.

and the Dominicans made conditions very difficult and distressing for the Company. On the other hand, from the year 1544 Ignatius enjoyed a fruitful friendship with the gentle and saintly Philip Neri, whose followers were recognized in 1575 as The Congregation of the Oratory.

With the Carthusians, who were now following their Rule more strictly than had been the case for some time, Ignatius had the most cordial relationship. When the Jesuits were in disfavor in Cologne, and their House had been closed, the Carthusians offered to share with them their own House. At the Assembly of their Order in 1544 the Superior, Hamontan, proposed that they should admit members of the Society of Jesus to their works and prayers. These friendly gestures Ignatius warmly received. He provided that if any of his men should feel called to the meditative life they might transfer into the Carthusian Order. Various groups within the Church were thus leading in different ways toward reform, but very much still remained to be done. In this the Society of Jesus was destined to set a noble example and to take a leading part.

Ignatius began to cope with great and clamant problems in connection with the urgent needs of the poor. In those days the State accepted no responsibility for such needs, and private charity was pitifully inadequate to meet them. Other noble souls felt with Ignatius the tremendous burden of human woe and misery. Ferrari and Morigia had formed the order of Barnabites to grapple with the dire conditions in the city of Milan that had been provoked by the horrors of war. A Venetian senator, Gerolamo di Somasca, had been stirred by similar feelings of pity for the swarms of

unprotected war orphans, and had gathered them into homes at Bergamo, Como, Verona, and other cities, a Dr. Barnado movement in the sixteenth century. On June 5, 1540, a Bull of Pope Paul III instituted him and his companions into a congregation of regular clergy bearing his name, the Somascians.

But Ignatius early began to win the souls of the poor by first caring for their bodies. His own property was spent in alms and foundations for the poor. On his visit home from Paris he founded in Azpeitia a society whose members sought out the modest but deserving poor, and privately relieved their needs. Laws were also passed that made regular provision for those in poverty. In earlier days at Alcala he had engaged personally in the relief of the distressed. Diego d'Eguia, later a member of the Company, helped him with his means. On one occasion, when he had no money available, he opened a chest and gave Ignatius a big bundle of clothes to distribute.⁶ The hands of Ignatius were always empty, often giving to others the best of the gifts that had been bestowed upon himself.

In the early days at Rome the Company did a really fine work. A great famine brought distress to many. The Fathers sought out the neediest cases and brought them to the House until it overflowed. They provided for them by soliciting alms to buy bread and fuel. The novelty and the wonder of this, anticipating the modern relief of the Salvation Army, stirred up the spirit of emulation. Many of the wealthy exercised themselves in similar works of charity, and that winter some three thousand poor were sustained.

The cause of the poor and hapless was championed

⁶ *Le Récit*, 60.

in other ways. Fr. Frusius compelled extortionate usurers in Sicily to make restitution, and many families who had been forced to seek refuge in caves were enabled to return to their homes. Ignatius founded homes to care for some of the unfortunates. Many Jews in Rome had their eyes opened to the truth of the Gospel through the street preaching of the Company. Owing to persecution from their kindred and often loss of their livelihood, if they avowed their faith, they were "disciples of Jesus, but secretly." In order to make it possible for them to declare their new faith Ignatius established the House of Catechumens where they could reside and maintain themselves. In the year 1544 alone forty Jews were baptized. Orphan homes for boys and girls were also founded that provided a refuge for hapless little ones. For young girls who might fall a prey to the evils of the city Ignatius founded St. Catherine's as a shelter and a home.

The social evil found in Ignatius a relentless foe and its victims a chivalrous champion. At Azpeitia Ignatius learned that many priests had taken girls to live with them, and that these wore on their heads the veil that denoted a married woman. He secured from the Governor a law that forbade this deceitful practice, and thus struck a mortal blow at the evil.⁷ Rome he found to be morally in a bad way. "The city burned with this infernal fire." Many of the women desired to quit their mode of life but found it well-nigh impossible. For the single ones who were willing to enter for life there was the monastery of St. Madeline. But not all wished to take life vows, and the married ones were not able to do so in any case. There were many who

⁷ *Le Récit*, 91.

desired to lead a good life but had not the strength of character to combat their surroundings. For all women who would enter Ignatius opened the House of St. Martha, in which he was greatly helped by interested noble ladies. He made here the only exception to the rule that forbade to his sons the spiritual direction of women by appointing Fr. Diego d'Eguia as confessor. Ignatius would seek out the women in evil houses and endeavor to lead them to the Home. In so doing he brought down malicious reports upon both himself and the Company from vicious and enraged men, but he never swerved from the line of duty.

Ignatius held that it was obligatory on kings and princes to suppress these public vices. The religious man could only keep himself free from them and assist the unfortunate victims, but, as opportunity offered, he might urge upon the temporal rulers their duty in the matter. In the meantime Ignatius could not stand by with folded arms in the face of tragic human need. A veritable Don Quixote of reform he might appear to men of evil life, but no crusading Richard wielded a more terrible sword in attacking the enemies of humanity and the cross.

But while Ignatius was thus zealous in seeking by every means to snatch brands from the burning, his social services and reforms could not eclipse the effects of his public preaching. At that time there was but little preaching in the churches. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinian friars had all engaged in it, but many parish priests seldom found place for a sermon in their services. And so the preaching of Ignatius and his companions came in many places with the force of novelty. Ignatius himself had none of the arts of the popular preacher. "In business and com-

mon conversation he spoke but little, and listened to others without interrupting the thread of their discourse." But when he did speak, "His words were well weighed and full of meaning. . . . He said everything distinctly as it was, without giving it any other color. . . . His words had a marvelous power to persuade what he wished." He himself belittled his own efforts. When the Dominicans at Salamanca asked him if he proposed to preach, having so little learning, he modestly disclaimed any idea that he was a preacher. He would "talk of the things of God." Later when he sent his men out two by two he urged them to influence the people more by the flow of their spirit and eyes than by well-chosen words. His own mistakes when attempting to use Italian were both numerous and ludicrous. His young disciple, Ribadeneira, once suggested that he should try to speak more correctly. With humility Ignatius agreed, but one evening the young man showed him all the mistakes that he had noted down during that day. In humorous despair the master asked, "Peter, what shall I do for God?"

The great power of Ignatius over the souls of men lay in the fact that his own soul was aflame with love to God and man. Francis Borgia declared that he spoke as one having power, and that his words attached themselves to the heart, and in the heart imprinted what was pleasing to him. At Manresa if he discoursed on spiritual things immense crowds gathered to hear his words, that came like burning shafts from his glowing heart. At Azpeitia his preaching brought a great concourse of people from all parts of the province, so that he was constrained to give his instruction in the open air. Many perched themselves in the surrounding trees in order to see and hear better, and permanent results were wrought by his preaching.

At Alcala in 1527 many women of the poorer classes were greatly affected by his words. Some of them were victims of fainting fits with convulsions and nausea. Others were attacked by melancholia and other forms of mental disorder. Ana de Benevento, an apprentice girl, would roll on the floor in a faint. When Ignatius was examined by the Inquisition he was taxed with these strange excesses of conduct. He readily acknowledged that a few had been so affected. He believed that the Evil One had attacked them with temptation because of their amended lives. He had sought to comfort them, had taught them how to pray, and he had told them that these trials would disappear if they remained true to their new faith. In later years his listeners were often moved to tears beneath his plain but searching words. His deep sincerity, evident in his very appearance, made a profound impression before he began to speak. When he assumed his duties as General he began to teach Christian doctrine to the youth, but men and women also came to the church to hear him. When he had finished his sermon many who had been pierced to the heart were weeping and groaning. It was difficult for them to speak to their confessor for sobs and tears. One of his hearers testified, "I heard Ignatius preach at this time with such force and fervor of spirit that it seemed as if he were so inflamed with the fire of love that he hurled, as it were, ardent flames into the breasts of his hearers, and the splendor of his face melted them in the love of God."⁸ St. Augustine's words, that "one loving heart sets another on fire," were never better exemplified than in the person of Ignatius.

Under such a leader, and with their own fine gifts

* Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 216.

splendidly developed, it would have been strange if many of his sons had not also become preachers. They early showed their powers in this field. Faber and Lainez were with Ignatius at Vicenza during the year they were waiting for a passage to Jerusalem. There they lived in a ruined house without doors or windows. Receiving little in the way of alms they almost starved, but they spent much time in prayer. Codure came to join them and they decided to start public preaching.

Taking their stand in an open place they attracted a crowd by calling the people in a loud voice and waving their bonnets. They then proclaimed the vileness of vice, the beauty of virtue, abhorrence for sin, disdain of the world, and the immense grandeur and inestimable love with which God loves us. With such tremendous themes they awoke many to a deeper spiritual life. They took men from the prison of Satan and planted in their hearts a strong desire to acquire the happiness for which God had created them.

The same results attended similar efforts by other members of the group. In twos and threes they went through the cities of Italy. One would be the leader for a week, while another would act as servant and carry the stool to be used as a pulpit. Later the pope sent two of the Company to the Isle of Corsica, where they brought forth much fruit, both by their example and their preaching. The whole island was deeply moved, sins were eradicated, priests were admonished, and works of piety were increased. Of many cities it could have been said, as was said of Medina, "our men began to preach in the streets with great effect." Strada's eloquent preaching, and even more eloquent silence under abuse, prevailed over persecutions in Salamanca. Many places experienced a spir-

itual renaissance under the spell of the irresistible preaching of James Lainez. Rome itself was stirred when the Company began a campaign there. Save at Lent or Advent, sermons were not customary, and when the Fathers began their public discourses they had to endure much ridicule. Even the children pelted them with mud. But persecution could not daunt them, and conversions, often with tears, rewarded their labors. Multitudes flocked to hear them, and Benedict Palmia and Pietro Ribadeneira preached to greater audiences than could have been accommodated in any church in Rome. Their preaching was utterly fearless for they regarded neither mobs nor judges. A corrupt magistrate was removed from office in Sicily through their appeal to the Governor. At Cordova they persuaded the magistrate to suppress the popular pastime of bull-fighting. Their clarion call to repentance and reform rang out against every kind of iniquity, injustice, or cruelty.

Their leader was very jealous for their honor and good name. When the work had been properly organized he would not allow preachers or professors to speak in public until they had been heard and approved by himself, or other competent judges. Nor would he tolerate division among his men when they had to face opposition from the world. Francis Zapata came to Rome from Toledo and ridiculed Jerome Nadal for his street preaching. Ignatius was not informed of the incident until midnight, but at daybreak Zapata was no longer a member of the Order. He evidently took this salutary discipline in good part and profited by it. Although he was afterwards received by the Franciscans, he nevertheless remained friendly toward his former leader and colleagues.

Ignatius was well aware of the need for wise and diligent training for the work of the ministry. In the Constitutions he laid down regulations for the adequate training of those students who were looking forward to holy orders. They were to be instructed in the proper method of celebrating Mass, administering the Sacraments, hearing confession, directing the Spiritual Exercises, and preaching. In the matter of preaching Ignatius realized, with the Reformation leaders, the tremendous importance of using the common tongue. He says, "Let them accustom themselves also in setting forth their sermons and sacred lectures to the way best adapted for the edification of the people, which differs from the Scholastic method; and to discharge this duty let them labor to thoroughly acquire the vernacular tongue of the country (*studeantque ad id munus obeundum linguam populo vernaculam bene addiscere*). They should employ all means which may assist them to discharge this office the better, and with greater spiritual profit to others."⁹

Regular opportunities were to be provided for young preachers to exercise their gifts before their fellows, not only for the edification of the latter, but also to provide for wholesome admonition for themselves. "It is fitting that all be practiced in preaching at home, so that beyond the useful employment of an hour after dinner they may be encouraged and habituated in some degree (as to voice, manner, and other particulars) to discharge that duty." When the trained workman finally needed "not to blush in rightly dividing the Word of truth," ample provision was to be made for the people to have access to that Word. Ignatius

⁹ *Constitutiones*, IV, VIII, 3; and VII, IV, 6-7.

tius therefore directs, "Let the Word of God be diligently propounded to the people in Church, in sermons, lectures, and catechizing, by such as the Superior shall approve and appoint to this duty, at such times and in such a manner as shall seem expedient to him, to the greater glory of God and the edification of souls." He continues further: "This may be done also outside the church of the Society, in other churches, in the streets or other places, when the Superior shall deem it conducive to the greater glory of God."

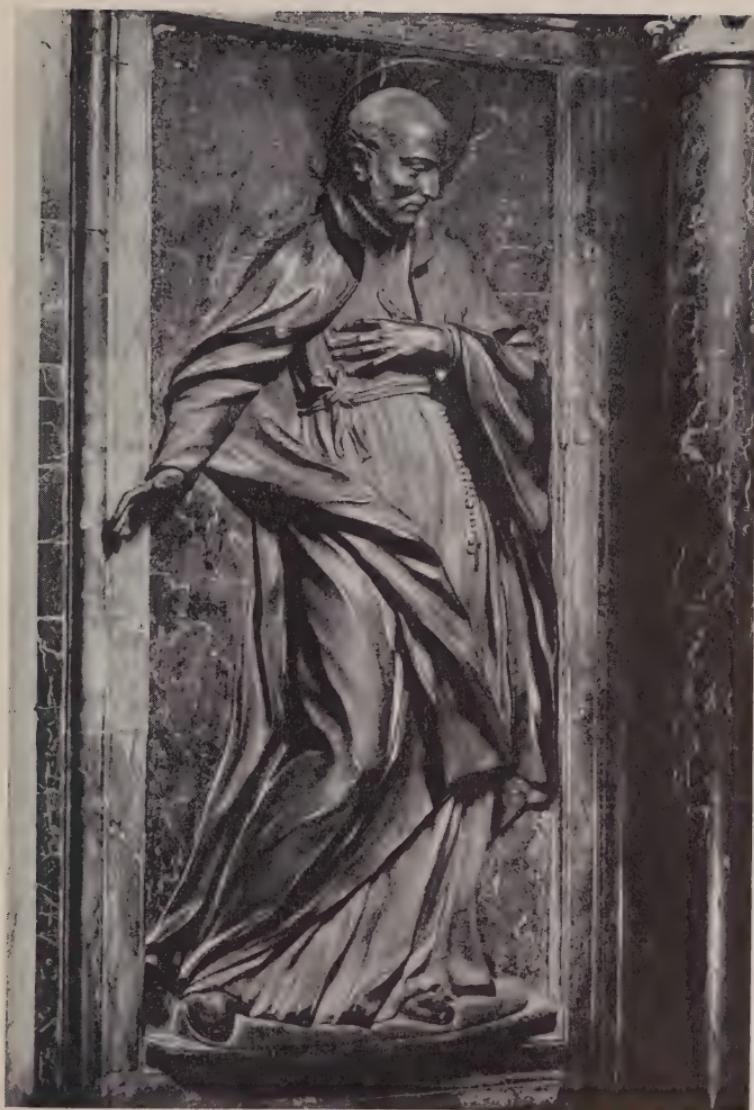
He warned his men against undue loquacity, telling them that while the grace of speaking was to be desired, in company they should listen much and say little. He also tendered sound advice when he said that preachers ought to write carefully and meditate seriously before speaking. He himself was still more careful of the written word. "As often as I can I copy important letters twice, and even a good many short notes." Thus did Ignatius develop a splendid army of preachers for the ministry of the Word. Choosing those best adapted for the pulpit, training their natural qualifications to the utmost, he sent them out to do yeoman service in calling men to repentance and to the service of God.

There was at this time general neglect in attendance on the means of grace, and Ignatius strove to effect a reform with respect to this. He knew the strategic value of frequent personal contact with the Church for the spiritual life of her children. All his preaching was followed by confession on the part of many of his hearers. This enabled the impression already made to be deepened and strengthened. Often it led to the giving of the Spiritual Exercises, and, in the case of

suitable persons, to new recruits for the Society. He placed great value not merely on the Mass, with its unrivaled opportunities for dwelling on the sacrificial death of the Lord, but also on the "Eucharistic Sacrament," the "Communion of the Blood of Christ," and "the partaking of the Body of the Lord." Like the preaching of sermons, the reception of Communion had greatly declined. It had become customary, even for the devout, to communicate only at the three principal solemnities of the year. Ignatius urged a return to the frequent custom of the primitive Church, but in so doing he aroused much opposition from conservative minds. The Franciscans besought the Vicar of Perugia to stop the Company from giving Communion so frequently. Francis Borgia, while still Viceroy of Catalonia, gave great offense by weekly reception of Holy Communion. Ignatius exhorted all to monthly reception; he recommended that the Sacrament be received weekly, and he encouraged daily reception.

We find this subject recurring frequently in his writings. In the "Rules for Thinking with the Church," that concludes the Spiritual Exercises, he says, "For the true sentiments which we ought to hold in the Church Militant let the following rules be kept. . . . Secondly, to praise confession to a priest, and the reception of the Most Holy Sacrament once a year, and much more every month, and much better once a week, with the requisite and due conditions (*La segunda, alabar el confesar con Sacerdote, y el recibir del Santisimo Sacramento una vez en el año, y mucho mas in cada mes, y mucho mejor de ocho en ocho dias con las condiciones requisitas y debidas*)."

From Rome he wrote to his fellow citizens in



A statue of the Saint in the Church
of SS. Vigilius and Ignatius in Siena.

Azpeitia in 1541, some five years after his visit there. He recalls their mutual experiences and the reforms then begun in the town. He goes on to urge them, for the love and reverence of God, "to honor, favor, and serve His only-begotten Son, Christ our Lord, in this great work of the Most Holy Sacrament." A Dominican, Fr. Thomas Stella, had established a guild that had been approved in a Bull of Pope Paul III on the thirtieth of November, 1539. This guild, known as the Confraternity of the Most Sacred Body of Christ, aimed at venerating and exalting to its rightful place the Blessed Sacrament. Ignatius goes on to suggest that such an organization be formed among them for a similar object. He continues:

"I beg that rules be made and some kind of Confraternity formed, so that each member may go to confession and Communion once in each month, but voluntarily, and not under penalty of sin, in case he fail. For without any doubt I am persuaded and am sure that if you carry out this project you will derive incalculable spiritual advantage. It used to be the custom for all, men and women alike, to receive the Blessed Sacrament every day from the time they had reached a fitting age. Shortly after this, when devotion began to grow somewhat colder, it was usual to communicate every week. Later still, as men became more wanting in true charity, they adopted the custom of communicating on three principal feasts of the year, leaving the practice of more frequent Communion, whether every three days, or from week to week, or from month to month, to the liberty and devotion of each individual. And now, last of all, we have ended by no more than yearly Communion, so great is our coldness and weakness."¹⁰

¹⁰ *Letters*, 46.

The pleading of Ignatius was not without effect, and one of the first places in Spain where the Confraternity was established was at Azpeitia.

What Ignatius urged upon groups with regard to the Sacrament he constantly commended to individuals. He wrote from Rome on the fifteenth of November, 1543, to Teresa Rejadella, a religious of the Monastery of St. Clare, "illustrious not less by her virtue, than by her noble origin," who had corresponded with him on spiritual matters. To her he says, "As to the practice of daily Communion, let us remember that in the Primitive Church all went to Communion every day, and from that time to this there has been no order or writing of our holy Mother the Church, or of holy doctors, scholastic or positive, prohibiting those whose devotion so moves from receiving Communion every day. Let us remember, too, that the blessed St. Augustine says that he neither praises nor blames daily Communion, adding elsewhere that he exhorts all to Communion on all Sundays (*Quotidie communicare nec laudo nec vitupero; singulis tamen diebus dominicis ad communicandam hortor*)."¹¹ And in another place, speaking of the most sacred Body of Christ our Lord: "This bread is daily bread; therefore so live that you may receive it every day."¹¹ With a mind so determined, a will so relentless, and a consecration so complete, Ignatius won multitudes to his views, and produced almost a revolution in the Catholic Church with respect to sacred observances and ordinances.

In these varied ways did Ignatius set in motion the forces of the Counter-Reformation. Not only did it offset and overturn much of the success already achieved by the Protestant leaders, but it actively

¹¹ *Letters*, 68.

promoted the cleansing so sorely needed within the Church. Church leaders and laity alike were shamed by the purity and devotion so evident in the lives of the sons of Ignatius. The common people saw in their loving, unshrinking, menial service to the sick and suffering a new manifestation of the spirit of Christ. Through the different remedial reforms he instituted the social conscience was quickened and cleansed. And to the services of the sanctuary, to confession, and especially to Communion, multitudes of stricken and convicted souls were wisely shepherded, and many lax and careless members were lovingly restored.

Chapter 12

The Campaign Against Heresy

This manner of prayer is called the art of love, since only by love is it attained, and by it more than by any other art or industry is love multiplied, and also because Christ, the God of love, instructs it in those of a loving heart. Many a time they who cannot be conquered by force are conquered by art.

— *Francisco de Osuna*

WHEN the Company was definitely instituted in the year 1540 Ignatius and his men had already engaged in warfare on two sections of the battle front. Francis Xavier had previously sailed for the Orient where, as one of the greatest missionaries of all time, he was to win undying fame for the Company and notable victories for his Lord. In the different countries of Europe the Company had set itself unflinchingly to oppose the laxness and corruption that honeycombed the Church. Already many communities and countless individuals had felt the quickening breath of a new consecration and a renewed life.

But a still sterner warfare awaited the sons of Ignatius, and one which their leader did not foresee in the earlier days at Loyola and Manresa. Then he was immersed in the care and cure of souls, both his own and his neighbor's. He could not know that he was destined "to save the Church from the most fruitful heresy ever launched." Neither could he then have imagined that in coming years his sons would help to hold France steady to the Catholic faith, and win back great parts of Germany, Austria, and other lands that seemed lost to the Holy See.

The condition of the Catholic Church at this time was alarming to her friends. The blast blown by Luther had been tremendously reinforced by the vast sounding-board of widespread abuses. When the priest or prelate was known to the flock to be unfit for office, many felt that the Reformation was most opportune. If to this there was added the appeal of political expediency, or personal gratification, it can be readily understood how there could occur the alarming defection of whole peoples with their princes. Switzerland was divided between the old faith and the new. Many of the nobles and princes of France were on the side of the Reformers. Germany was almost entirely lost. Poland was well-nigh hopeless. The self-willed Henry VIII of England had flung down his gage of defiance. It was no wonder the dying Pope Paul IV felt that from the time of the Apostles no pontificate had been so unfortunate as his.

Ignatius did not live to see the great part played by his Company in changing this condition of things. But he did set in motion the great movements that were to check and turn back the Protestant tide. Cardinal Guidicicci, who retarded for some time the institu-

tion of the Society, was led to say of it: "I regard it as something now needed to help Christendom in its troubles, and especially to destroy the heresies which are at present devastating Europe."¹ The natural effect of the great Protestant outbreak, it has been said, was an equally violent outbreak of Catholic zeal. The spear-head of that zealous defense, that carried the war into the enemies' camp, was the Company of Jesus.

The first encounter between the contending forces was in Germany itself. Nine young men traveling on foot to Venice were obviously all Catholic, when three of their number were priests. Their poverty and quiet demeanor did not save them from hostile attacks by Protestant preachers. These culminated in a public disputation at Constance, in which James Lainez easily vanquished his opponents. Defeated on the platform their enemies planned to arrest and imprison them; but that night a young friend warned them of their danger, led them safely out of the city, and forwarded them on their way.²

As the years passed, and the struggle between Catholic and Protestant became more intense, the Protestants recognized the members of the Company as their most formidable opponents. At times they tried, with poor success, to corrupt the fidelity of Ignatius' followers. A young Lutheran named Michael sought admission to the Company and tried to ensnare Manares with his views. Manares wisely induced him to put his propositions into writing, and this evidence was sufficient for Ignatius and Caraffa to checkmate effectively his schemes.

¹ Campbell, *The Jesuits*, 31.

² Bartoli, *Life*, I, 263-264.

Ignatius was greatly concerned over affairs in England. When a student at Paris he had one summer visited that country for alms, and had received much kindness. His prayers for its return to the faith were frequent and constant. When Cardinal Reginald Pole went back to England on the accession of Queen Mary, Ignatius offered him the use of the German College at Rome for the English students. He also wrote to Araoz and Francis Borgia to send men from Spain to advance the cause in England. Unfortunately, the suspicions of Pope Paul IV against Ignatius hindered the effective prosecution of these measures. Before this restraint was removed by death Elizabeth was firmly established on the throne and the opportunity was lost.

Through Salmeron and Broet the Company did make an important contribution to the work in Britain. In 1541 they were sent as Papal legates to assist the Catholics in Ireland who were suffering under the persecution of Henry VIII, and to report on their unhappy condition. They were accompanied by Francis Zapata, then a candidate for the Society. In a covering letter of instructions Ignatius made "Master Francis" the treasurer of the party. They did not touch England, going by way of Scotland to Ireland, where they comforted and encouraged the flock.

In a letter that he sent from Rome early in September, 1541, Ignatius gave them prudent counsel as to their conduct on this perilous enterprise. Capture by the officers of Henry would have meant almost certain death, and Ignatius advised not only with respect to the journey, but also as to their work on reaching Ireland. Cardinal Pole was to procure for them suitable letters of introduction. They were to go by Paris in order that there they might take counsel with Strada

and Domenech. He said, "You might also consider if it is worth while or not to ask the King of France (Francis I) to favor you with a passport to the Scottish ports, as is the custom in England, but be prudent and adopt in all things the safest course, if there is any fear of being discovered, or any similar danger." They were to plan on embarking secretly for Scotland, and on arriving there, "In your audience with the King (James V) it will be well to ask for a letter of recommendation to the Irish, in order that you may have a good reception; and until you receive his answer you should remain in the Court. Also you yourselves as Papal Legates should write a letter to Ireland, asking the King to announce in his own letter this your title, thus securing more authority and closer co-operation with him. For the rest, act as you think best."

But while their leader thus offered shrewd advice so that they might not run into needless dangers, and at the same time be insured "a good reception" from those whom they were seeking to help, he did not forget that care of souls for which they were instituted. And so he continued, "While awaiting the King's answer be very assiduous in hearing confessions, giving the Exercises, and other exhortations; and Master Salmeron should as soon as possible deliver a sermon in Latin, which must be thoroughly prepared." Although they were of equal rank he advised that Broet should take the lead in discussions with men of eminence. "In speaking with princes and other persons of rank, and in seeking recognition from them as Papal legates, let Paschase act as spokesman; and then, if any further step is to be taken, decide by plurality." Ignatius went on to instruct them as to their deportment and mode of living. He arranged safe and convenient channels of commu-

nication by which they might frequently write to him, "by Portugal, under care of the King's preacher (Juan Suarez), by Biscay and the Lord of Loyola at Azpeitia, which is in the province of Guipozcoa, by Scotland, and this latter would seem to be the most convenient."

There follows a very interesting instruction: "Be careful about the Masses for Cardinal Guidiccioli, and let me know when you write how many you have said."³ Ignatius had vowed to offer to God three thousand Masses if the opposition of the Cardinal to the institution of the Company were overruled. It was now a year since the Bull of Institution had been issued, and apparently Ignatius was still scrupulously intent on redeeming his promise. His men around the world were helping him to fulfill it.

In a further letter he advised them as to their conversations with others. "In dealing with all, and especially with equals and inferiors, according to their dignity, speak little and speak late. Listen long and willingly (*libenter*) until they have quite finished all they have to say. Then answer the points that shall present themselves, conclude, and take your leave." In speaking with those in authority they are to adapt themselves to the disposition of each person, but in all conversation "the general good shall be borne in mind." He proceeded further, "In all conversations by which we hope to win over others, and bring them into the net for the greater service of God our Lord, let us follow the same course that the enemy follows with regard to a good soul, he all for evil (*ad malum*), we all for good (*ad bonum*)."

Again in a third letter he defines their present task.

³ *Letters*, 50.

"The purpose of this mission to Ireland is in general to be of assistance to that province in spiritual matters, and to relieve, in any possible way, the conscience of the Supreme Pontiff, and also that of the most illustrious and Reverend Protector of the province." They are to visit and commend faithful Catholic laymen. Bishops and priests are to be praised or corrected, according to the need. They are to see that the sacraments are properly administered and the Word preached in a Catholic spirit. Good grammar schools, with efficient Catholic masters, can be made of great use. Monasteries are to be founded, or existing ones reformed. All works of charity are to be done without remuneration and no alms are to be received, unless necessary for sustenance. They are to report to the Holy See both as to general conditions and important persons, especially prelates of the Church.⁴

These letters, quoted somewhat extensively, reveal the exact and careful mind of the true commander. Immersed in many important affairs at home, he still keeps in close and sympathetic touch with his men who are engaged in a distant and dangerous mission. From headquarters he conducts the campaign against heresy that is being waged afar off. Broet and Salmeron afterwards returned safely from their perilous enterprise.

Five years later the General again forwarded instructions to his men on another front. Lainez and Salmeron arrived at the Council of Trent on May 15, 1546, appointed thereto by Pope Paul III as papal theologians. Le Jay was also there to represent the Cardinal Archbishop of Augsburg. That historic Council most clearly defined the position of the Catholic Church; it exhib-

⁴ *Letters*, 56 and 59.

ited that Church anew as a living and aggressive institution; and it consolidated and reinforced its opposition to the Protestant movement. In that Council the members of the Company took a leading though unofficial part. Their attire proclaimed their vow of poverty, until the prelates bought new clothing for them, but the opulent treasures of their learning were poured out unstintedly for the benefit and edification of the Council. Although they had no official status they were given the onerous task of summing up the daily proceedings, of resolving knotty questions, of pointing out errors, of dissipating doubts, and of sustaining the authority of the Pontiff. All this they did with a modest and consummate ability that later opened many doors for the Society throughout Europe.

Back in Rome the General sympathetically inspired and guided his men. Said he, "I should be slow to speak, but deliberate and sympathetic, especially if it concerns matters that are being dealt with, or likely to be dealt with, at the Council. We should give the reasons on both sides (*ad utramque partem*) so as to show ourselves not inclined merely to our own side, and not to leave anyone dissatisfied. . . . I should give my opinion on the subject with the greatest possible calmness and humility, ending with 'in deference to better judgment' (*salvo meliori judicio*)."¹ He bade them also to bear in mind, even at the Council, that their chief care is the cure of souls. "The principal object we have in view in this journey of ours to Trent, . . . is to preach, to hear confessions, to teach, at the same time instructing children, setting a good example, visiting the poor in the hospitals, and exhorting our neighbor, according as each one finds himself in posses-

sion of this talent or that, to move such persons as we can to devotion and prayer."

He proceeds to deal with suitable times and ways of fulfilling the above. Very characteristic is his remark on preaching. Ignatius rarely, or never, made attacks on his opponents. He contented himself with quiet continuance of his work, or, at the most, of stating modestly his own position. Thus he says here: "In preaching I should not touch upon any of the points in which Protestants differ from Catholics, but should simply exhort to the good practices and devotions of the Church, bringing souls to the entire knowledge of themselves, and to a greater knowledge and love of their Creator and Lord." However, the good churchman emerges as he continues, "speaking frequently of the Council, and always at the end of the sermon, according to what has already been suggested, having prayers said for its success."⁵ The wise leader also remembers the inner life of his soldiers. He provides for self-examination and for mutual correction. A conference each night can review the activities of the day that is passed, and also prepare the program for the morrow. At the adjourned sessions of the Council in later years James Lainez was again present, this time as successor to his former General, and once again the campaign against heresy was pushed forward by the Society.

One of the instruments of the Church that had been started in earlier times, with which Ignatius and the Society had little to do, was the Inquisition. Ferdinand and Isabella had revived it before the birth of Ignatius to deal with Moors and Jews. Ignatius simply accepted

⁵ *Letters*, 79.

it as part of the machinery of the Church. At the same time, as he saw the inroads made by heresy, "there was born in Ignatius a respect for the Inquisition, in all things seeking its authority, so necessary for the defense and conservation of the holy Catholic faith." In supporting a request of King John III of Portugal, who wished it established in his kingdom in order to deal with the Jews, Ignatius used his influence with the pope on John's behalf. He would not, however, allow the Society in Portugal to take charge of it. He also supported Caraffa who sought to establish the Roman Inquisition. It was set up by the pope on July 21, 1541, with six cardinals as Inquisitors. But again the Society had nothing to do with it directly. Toward the close of the seventeenth century Fr. Nithard, who had accompanied Maria Anna from Austria to Spain, became for four years the Grand Inquisitor of Spain. This was a rare exception, and like its founder, the Society through the centuries had little to do with this formidable engine of repression against heresy.

Ignatius had a care for all Christendom, says Ribadeneira, but especially for Germany, since it had been particularly plagued and afflicted. Faber was sent to the second Diet of Worms, and although it broke up without definite results his gentle and gracious influence was greatly felt. Archbishop Hermann von Wied had called the Protestant leader, Martin Bucer, to Cologne, and it seemed as if the city were lost to the Catholic cause. But Faber manfully held the fort. He disputed with Bucer; he hired a house for himself and seven young followers, establishing the first Jesuit settlement in German territory; and the city was finally held for the Church.

At Mainz Faber met and won Peter Canisius, and

the most brilliant young scholar in Germany took his place in the battle line of the Company. By his Compendium for children, and his Catechism for advanced students, Canisius helped to restore their lost faith to many in the Fatherland. At Ingolstadt, whither he went with Salmeron and Le Jay at the call of William of Bavaria, and also at Prague, where he was appointed to head the college that had been founded by King Ferdinand as a bulwark against heresy, Canisius rendered outstanding service. The heroic efforts of Faber and Canisius were nobly seconded by others. Le Jay and Bobadilla were at the Diet of Ratisbon in 1543, and in 1551 Le Jay helped to found the college at Vienna. From these various points there spread through all Germany in the next few years a large number of colleges and universities that soon rivaled the Protestant institutions. With learned and devoted teachers great numbers of children and youths were won for the Church, and Germany "was conquered on its own soil by Spanish, Italian, and Flemish priests."

It was at Rome that Ignatius began the most fruitful work on behalf of Germany. Cardinal Morone had deplored the lax lives of the German priests, and suggested training German youths in Rome to go back as missionaries to their own land. Ignatius saw the value of the suggestion and turned it into an accomplished fact. He secured both moral and financial support from Pope Julius III and the College of Cardinals, and Fr. Frusius was appointed as first Rector of the German College. On the death of Julius the war between Pope Paul IV and Philip II dried up the papal finances, so far as the college was concerned. It had to be closed and the students were distributed among other Houses. Ignatius again made personal canvasses

on its behalf, and once more set it on its feet. Pope Gregory XIII later added to its buildings as well as endowing it.

A remarkable service was rendered by the men who received their training within its walls. It nurtured cardinals, bishops, and martyrs worthy of the Faith, whose Christlike lives robbed of their sting the common accusations of avarice and immorality against the priests. The college was an outstanding example of the institutions eulogized by Pope Urban VIII to the King of Portugal. "In their colleges, which are esteemed schools of wisdom, those two-edged swords are forged by which they so happily rout the diabolical legions . . . which nourish youth with the milk of piety, and rout and banish heresy with the arms of light."⁶

The German College was but one of a splendid system of educational centers founded by Ignatius and his sons. Those centers held fast the wavering faith of many, turned the tide of battle in places where the faith had been weakened, and through their united influence became the most potent instrument of the Counter-Reformation.

The mother of many of the colleges throughout the world was the Roman College. Begun on February 17, 1551, through the munificence of Francis Borgia, who was then on a visit to Rome, it steadily grew, not only in its curriculum but also in its student body. Sixteen nations were at length represented in its two hundred and twenty students. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII provided for its adequate and permanent endowment, as he had done for the German College. King John III of Portugal founded another famous college at Coim-

⁶ Bartoli, *Life*, II, 243.

bra to train recruits for the work of the Society in India. After the Council of Trent colleges were founded at Paris and Billom by Bishop Guillaume de Prat of Clermont. At Burgos Cardinal Francis Mendoza established a college and asked Ignatius for men to run it.

In this fashion the work grew all over Europe. Princes and prelates vied with each other in supplying buildings and equipment. The Company furnished teachers and Rectors. When Ignatius died, there were in America and the Indies nine colleges, and in the old lands thirty-five, "like Roman castra dotting Europe against the forces of the Reformation." Ignatius enjoyed the support of friends like Giovanni de Vegha, Viceroy of Sicily, who "desired not merely to clear up pirates and assassins, but to found a city on Christian piety." To that end he persuaded the city of Medina to found a college, and then wrote to Ignatius in 1548 for men to staff it. And so Ignatius adapted the new learning to fight the battles of the new day, to meet the scholars of the Reformation on their own chosen ground, and to win back for the Church much of the territory which she had lost.

One of the great aids toward this end was the acceptance of lay students into the colleges. Such a step had not been originally intended, and was first begun by Rodriguez at the college of Coimbra. It proved to be a movement of tremendous importance for the spread of Catholic teaching and influence. Princes and nobles were eager for their sons to enjoy the advantages of these fine schools. The physical care was of the best, Christian habits of life were inculcated, and the formation of fine character was an ever-present ideal. In the Constitutions, Ignatius provided that these things

should be perpetuated. The Franciscans had a Third Order by which laymen in the world might live in the spirit of St. Francis. In somewhat similar fashion many youths went out from Jesuit colleges to secular callings in a spirit of consecration and devotion to Christ and the Church.

Some of these students were led to offer themselves for the work of the Society. Occasionally this caused trouble with dissenting parents, as happened at Cologne in 1551. Ignatius did not generally receive such youths without the consent of their parents. It was not good policy to do so, even from the selfish standpoint of the future of the schools. At the same time he held that if a youth in the late teens wished to enter the religious life he had the right to choose his own career. For such approved scholars, that were the heart and reason of the colleges, Ignatius made provision by allowing the colleges of the Society to receive endowments. He wished to spare his young men from some of the experiences that he had undergone as an indigent student.

In these various ways the Company under the guidance of Ignatius, and later of his successors, fought the campaign against heresy. While he himself was not a profound scholar and even, as Bartoli says, had little aptitude for schools, Ignatius realized the wonderful possibilities in a splendid educational system for molding the plastic mind of youth. He gathered around him a magnificent band of scholars, some of them almost peerless in Europe. With them he raised his schools and colleges to a position of pre-eminence in the educational realm. They exalted the ideal of the teaching function of the Church. From their time down to the

present there is hardly an educational system but has felt the inspiration and the impetus given to that great and vital work by Ignatius and his men.

The ever-expanding work taxed the resources of the Society to provide an adequate supply of trained and devoted teachers. Dear to the heart of Ignatius was the great work of foreign missions, but when he was asked for six men from his small band to go out to the Indies he was unable to comply. Xavier had been out there some time, and after meeting with great success had sent back Andrew Fernandez to report to Ignatius, and to ask for more men. Andrew asked Ribadeneira to make the request for reinforcements, which he did. Ignatius replied, "I tell you, Pietro, our own need of workers in these parts to conserve the faith is not less than the need for men to plant it new in India."

Chapter 13

The Warfare with Heathendom

If we love Him and desire to have fruition of Him, let us lose ourselves. If we would see Him we must go through fire and water for Him. If we would make room for Him in our hearts we must cast out our very selves and all created things.

With burning acid gold is refined, and when the dross is removed it comes from the crucible resplendent. Let us have shame that we are so cold in an emprise so great as that of pleasing God.

— *Juan de Avila*

A WONDERFUL opportunity for missionary enterprise faced the Church in the sixteenth century. The frontiers of the world had been pushed back by the opening of a new route to the East and the discovery of the New World in the West. Doors were opened that had not been known before. Not since the days of the Apostles had such a challenge confronted the Christian church.

Among those who sought new conquests for Christ

Ignatius took a leading place, although he was not destined to be a missionary himself. The only time that he was in personal contact with heathen peoples was when he made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Had he been allowed to remain he might have lived and died, like Raymon Lull, in evangelizing the Mohammedan world. But another task was his. He was to become a father in God to a devoted host which streamed out on a crusade of salvation to the very ends of the earth.

In harmony with the vows taken at Montmartre, Ignatius placed in the Constitutions the special vow of obedience made by the Professed members to the pope concerning missions. As we have seen in the Institutes, offered to Paul III and incorporated in the Bull, he pledges them to go anywhere that the pope may desire to send them, and that instantly and without excuse. "To treat of the mission of the Pope, the most important of all, it is to be observed that the intention of the Vow wherewith the Society has bound itself in obedience to the supreme Vicar of Christ, without any excuse, is that we must go to any part of the world he shall determine to send us, among believers or unbelievers, to the greater glory of God and the succor of souls (*Quod eo fertur intentio Voti illius quo se obedientiae summi Christi Vicarii sine ulla excusatione Societas obstrinxit; ut quocunque gentium ad majorem Dei gloriam et animarum auxilium inter fideles vel infidels, nos mittendos censuerit, nos conferamus*)."¹ He further lays it down that the General, according to the power granted by the pope, shall designate the men to go to the different fields, as

¹ *Constitutiones*, VII, I, 1.

well as their length of stay, under obedience to the Apostolic See, so that "Whatever is most conducive to the greater service of God and the general good may always be determined upon (*id semper quod ad majus Dei obsequium et bonum universale facit, statuitur*)."

There soon came a call from Africa. The Ethiopians had been effectively evangelized in the fourth century by Frumentius who, on the advice of Athanasius to a Church Synod, was made the first Bishop of Auxume. But the Arab conquest of Nubia (Egypt) cut off Ethiopia (Abyssinia) from the rest of Christendom. For nearly a thousand years after the sixth century it was lost to the knowledge of the Christian world. During that time it "mingled the Law and the Gospel," observing many Jewish customs. In the sixteenth century it was rediscovered by Portugese sailors, and the reigning king, David, sought the friendship of the King of Portugal. Pope Clement VII was asked to send missionaries, but their sending was delayed until the time of Pope Julius III.

Over the protest of Ignatius the Pope made Nuñez Patriarch of Ethiopia, and Oviedo and Carnero bishops. King John III of Portugal supplied them with the material requirements for their priestly function, and sent them with a great fleet that was sailing to India. Owing to strife with the leaders of the native Church, who resented the coming of foreign prelates, the mission was not successful, and Nuñez ultimately went to Goa where he died.

Another mission sent out to the Congo by King John in 1548 was equally unfortunate. His father, Don Manuel, had previously sent out missionaries, but the memory of the Gospel was dying out. John deplored this and sent out four members of the Company to

revive it. For a time all went well. The king and others were baptized. But when the missionaries insisted on amended lives, in keeping with the new profession of faith, they were forced out of the country.

The King of Angola sent a request for missionaries. In response to the call some of the men were sent out, accompanied by an ambassador bearing rich presents from King John. However, when the gifts were exhausted both ambassador and missionaries were imprisoned for years, and the effort came to naught. Africa thus proved a barren soil for the seed sown.

But the New World also called for the sowing of the Word, and in the years that followed both North and South America produced an abundant harvest. While the decree of the Sorbonne condemning the Company was still fresh in Paris, the blood of martyrs from the Company was being shed in Brazil. In 1549, King John III sent missionaries there. The province was fertile and lovely, but it was peopled by fierce cannibals, who also practiced both polygamy and polyandry. Sosa was one of the first of the Company in Brazil and went from menial kitchen work to a glorious end. His colleague, Correa, was of noble blood. Before being admitted into the Company he had fought valiantly against the heathen in defense of the faith. Now he worked day and night to win the same people to Christ. His knowledge of their customs, language, and ceremonies helped him greatly. For five years he labored with discretion and zeal. But in 1554 both he and Sosa were slain by the Caribi when on their knees praying.

Nobrega and five companions continued the work. He and Anchieta went into the interior, but it was found necessary for Nobrega to return to confer with the Governor. After a lonely and trying captivity of

five months Anchietá was finally allowed to return also. Nobrega was made Provincial of the Company in Brazil by Ignatius. Zeal and diligence, and utter devotion were displayed by these dauntless soldiers of Christ.

When Alonzo de Barzana, one of twelve new missionaries to Peru, stepped ashore, he amazed everyone by preaching to the Incas in their own tongue. Every moment during the long voyage from Spain he had studied to fit himself for his task. A thrilling story was to be written in later days in North America, with men like Jean de Brebeuf starring it with the luster of an imperishable devotion.

Among the missionary sons of Ignatius none was greater than Francis Xavier. Sprung from a noble family of Navarre he had been won when a young professor in Paris by Ignatius. After making his choice he refused a post as Canon in the Church at Pamplona. At Bologna his Christlike ministry won for him a lasting affection that made his return to that city, when on his way to the Indies some years later, a veritable triumph. King John III made a request for missionaries in 1540 and Francis went instead of Bobadilla, who had fallen sick. Very characteristic was his reply to Ignatius when notified of his appointment: "Behold, here I am, Father, I am ready." In the hospitals at Venice he had been especially prominent in his self-forgetful devotion to the sick, and on the long voyage to the East he was equally unselfish and won golden opinions from all on board.

The ship reached Goa on May 6, 1552. In that city Xavier ministered to the souls and bodies of the sick in hospitals and the lepers outside the city. His mission was rendered difficult by the greed and immorality of

the Portugese traders who were far from the restraints of home, and also by the low standards of living of the natives. But with shrewd and firm handling of each situation as it arose he tirelessly pursued his way, extending the boundaries of the work as opportunity offered. He heard of cannibal islands sixty leagues east of Termate, the Isles de Moro, and longed to evangelize them. His friends sought earnestly to dissuade him but "he desired with his corporal life to purchase eternal life for these people."

He wrote a letter to Ignatius before throwing himself upon them, Cross in hand. It illustrates the amazing courage and utter disregard of life with which he faced the task. He says: "The country where I am going is bristling with perils, and is very dangerous to all by the barbarism of its inhabitants and by the usage of divers poisons which they mingle in drink and food. This is what has hindered several priests from going to instruct them. As for me, considering their extreme need and the duty of my ministry, which obliges me to free souls from eternal death, even at the expense of my life, I have resolved to hazard everything for their salvation. All my hope, all my desire, is to conform myself as far as in me lies to the word of the Master, 'He who wishes to save his life shall lose it, and he who loses it for love of Me shall find it.' . . . Several persons here who love me tenderly have done all in their power to dissuade me from this voyage. . . . My life is in the hand of Providence."² Nine Portugese corpses confronted Xavier as a grim warning when he stepped ashore. He followed the savages and finally won them to the faith. "He shewed them the splendor

² Cretineau-Joly, *Histoire*, I, 180.

and light of the Evangel," says Ribadeneira, "and went among them with marvelous safety." In July, 1547, he returned safely to Goa.

But not always did the soldiers of the cross return in safety. Among the early fathers sent to India was Anthony Criminali, a Lombard. Xavier placed him as Superior at Cape Cormorin, where he suffered much from tribal wars and heathen priests. The king of one heathen tribe came to ravage the lands of King Manancour and to stamp out the faith. Criminali retired to the church to pray for his flock. Thence he went down to the shore, where he embarked the Christian women and children in Portugese ships. He refused to leave his post, and soon the enemy were upon him. He knelt on the ground with his eyes raised to heaven in prayer. The first and second squadrons swept past him, but a warrior of the third transfixed him. His head was cut off and impaled upon a stake on the wall. By such toils and sacrifices the campaign was steadily waged, and in seven years Xavier was at the head of a string of missions three thousand miles long, with forty-two men under his command.

From the farther East came another call that Xavier could not resist. In his native land a Japanese named Auger had talked with Portugese friends concerning the sins of his youth. They referred him to Xavier as one with a remedy that could bring him peace. In deadly earnest he made the long journey to Malacca, found Xavier, became a Christian, and joined the Company under the name of Paul.³ Xavier determined to return with Paul and carry the Gospel to the Japanese. Before starting he wrote another letter

³ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 300 f. and 442 f.

to Ignatius, dated April 15, 1549. "I cannot express to you," he said, "with what joy I undertake such a long voyage, for everything in it is full of extreme danger. If a man has been able to save two ships out of four he thinks that he has made a very fortunate voyage. Although these perils are beyond all that I have experienced up to this time, I have no intention of renouncing my enterprise, so much does our Lord assure me in my heart that the cross will produce great fruits once it is planted there." After a stormy and hazardous voyage of four months he reached Japan and preached there with much success. Returning to India he sent back other Fathers to consolidate and extend the victories already gained.

China next attracted his gaze and he determined to go there also. On arrival he found that there was a rigid law against foreigners entering the country. He determined to dare the threatened death and planned to enter Canton by night, but before he could do so he fell very ill on board ship. He could take no food and felt that his end was near. At his own request he was carried ashore on the little, rocky island of Sancian. Two days later, on December 2, 1552, at the early age of forty-six, his soul answered the call of his great Captain, Christ.

For zeal and courage, ability and endurance, and a glorious harvest of ransomed souls, the Church has had no missionary since the days of St. Paul to compare with Xavier. His humility took him through the villages ringing a bell to attract children and adults alike. When they had gathered he would teach them the creeds, commandments, and prayers. His wise and loving tact enabled him to take eight women, one after

another, from a man living in sin. Bernardo, a Japanese convert, who was sent to Rome, told Ribadeneira how he had heard Xavier disputing with the Bonzes (Buddhist priests), and how one reply of his had satisfied different questioners. Like Paul he thrice suffered shipwreck, on one occasion spending two or three days on a floating plank. One night he spent in a hollow tree to elude fierce savages. His epistles from the foreign field spurred many of the noble youths of Europe to the same Christlike service. Only ten years elapsed after sending home his first letter from Goa before his brief apostleship was ended. But what a fruitful grain of wheat was his short life. Ignatius intended to recall him to consult how the work in the Indies, with the help of the pope and the King of Portugal, might be still further extended, and wrote to him to that effect on June 20, 1553. Word had not yet reached Europe that Xavier had died six months before.

Like St. John on Patmos the young Basque noble conferred upon the little island of Sancian a deathless fame. Says Richard Hakluyt, who was born in the year following the death of Xavier: "Santianum is an Ile neere unto the haven Cantan in the confines likewise of China, famous for the death of that worthy traveiler and godly professour and painful doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xavier, who after great labours, many injuries, and calamities infinite suffred with much patience, singular joy and gladnesse of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and rushes upon a desert mountaine, no less voyd of all worldly commodities, than endued with all spiritual blessings, out of this life, the second day

of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552 after many thousand of these Easterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Christ.”⁴ The fastidious professor of philosophy at the University of Paris, challenged by Ignatius to tread in the footprints of Christ, had been led to a sacrificial death on “a green hill far away.”

⁴ Hakluyt, *Voyages* (Everyman Edition), IV, 208.

Chapter 14

The Baptism of Fire

Why are such figures painted above our altars? Why do they not show us Christ in His glory, seated above the heads of the angels, and the saints in their splendor, full of joy? Why do they present them to us dying and suffering great trials? I think it is that we may understand how by the torments which they suffered upon earth they attained to the glory of the heavens, and how we must follow them in their trials if we would be partakers of their rest.

— *Pedro Malon de Chaide*

NO GREAT reformer has ever been allowed to continue his work for long without meeting with opposition and active hostility. Outside the history of the Roman Catholic Church there are striking examples in the case of John Wesley and of William Booth. Each had to face ridicule, contempt, and actual mob violence. Each had a long, hard struggle before that malignant opposition was victoriously overcome. It was not otherwise in the case of Ignatius. That soldier of Christ was early called upon to undergo his baptism of fire. Until

toward the end of his life he was assailed time and again by bitter persecution. Those persecutions did not arise from men of another faith. They came almost entirely from fellow members of the Catholic Church. He was continually wounded in the house of his friends.

Various reasons accounted for these outbreaks. In some cases they were prompted by jealousy. Teachers, priests, or other Orders were apt to resent the success of Ignatius and his men. Sometimes they were due to apostates from the Company, or to men who had been refused admission. Occasionally sincere but misinformed leaders, imbued with a desire to promote the public weal, were responsible. Rarely, as in the case of Caraffa, Ignatius may have been partly to blame. Oftentimes they were begun by evil men whose conduct had been rebuked by the life and teaching of Ignatius.

In the case of the trials for heresy Ignatius suggests another reason. In a letter to the King of Portugal he recalled that he had been accused and acquitted of heresy no fewer than eight times. It was not from any association with schismatics, Lutherans, or Alumbrados, he declared, but from astonishment that he, an unlearned man, should presume to speak about things divine. It reminds us of a similar question in the early days of the Faith. "How knoweth this man letters, never having learned?" And a little later the same leaders observed the boldness of Peter and John, and perceiving that "they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marveled."

Ignatius had come to Alcala from Barcelona but a short time when he began to give the Spiritual Exercises and to explain Christian doctrine. Through his

teaching many reached a deeper knowledge of God and a taste for spiritual things, and three or four young men attached themselves to him. A new sect of mystics known as "Alumbrados" or "Illuminati," who claimed to receive signal gifts from God, had recently come under condemnation in Spain. Ignatius began to be suspected of some connection with these, and the Inquisitor came from Toledo to prosecute inquiries. He was satisfied that there was nothing amiss and returned home, leaving any further developments in charge of Figueroa, the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Toledo. Figueroa called Ignatius before him and told him that nothing had been found wrong in his doctrine. At the same time, he declared, it was not seemly that Ignatius and his companions should go dressed in a habit, as they had been doing, since they belonged to no religious Order, and this he forbade. A little later a second unjustified imprisonment that lasted forty-two days decided Ignatius to remove from Alcala. The city where twenty years afterwards another great son, Cervantes, was to be born, knew not the day of its visitation and lost Ignatius Loyola.

On the advice of Fonseca, the Ordinary of Toledo, Ignatius went to Salamanca. There he was invited to dinner by the Dominicans who plied him with questions. He frankly confessed his paucity of learning, whereupon they sought to get him to confess that he spoke through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In their eyes this admission would have placed Ignatius among the heretical Alumbrados. His native caution preserved him from this danger, but they kept him a prisoner for three days. During that time some of them were so won over by his bearing that they began to espouse his cause. Like the Sanhedrin of old they

were divided over their prisoner. Ignatius and a companion, Calixto, were taken to the jail, however, and chained together to a pillar. Called before four judges Ignatius defended himself with great skill and humility, and with deep spiritual insight. One night all the prisoners escaped from the jail, but the two companions made no attempt to do so. When called up for sentence they were told that there was no error in their life or doctrine, but that without four more years of study they must not attempt to determine, as Ignatius had done, between mortal and venial sin.

From Salamanca Ignatius went to Paris. It was no great time before here too the storms broke over him. The three young Spanish nobles to whom he had given the Spiritual Exercises and won to a religious life, brought great trouble upon him in Paris through their enraged relatives. Great murmurings arose against him in the city, and Govea, the Rector, threatened to flog him as a seducer of youth if he came to St. Barbe. Some of the teachers also became enraged when students deserted their classrooms and resorted to Ignatius instead. A beating was planned for him, and when he entered the College the doors were closed to prevent his escape. He did not hesitate but went straight to the Rector, and told him how he had already proved his willingness to suffer for the sake of Christ. At the same time he feared the effects of such a scene on the minds of those who were still weak in virtue. The Rector was conquered by his arguments and the flogging was not carried out.

On another occasion Ignatius returned from a journey to Rouen whither he had gone to help an unworthy friend. On reaching Paris he found that charges had been made against him during his absence. With

his usual fearless directness he went to the Inquisitor, a Dominican named Ori, and besought an opportunity to face the charges. It was only when he restrained his activities that Ignatius was free from molestation, but this was a most difficult thing for him to do. A friend named Frago once remarked on the tranquillity that he was experiencing at the moment. Ignatius replied that it was because he was not speaking of the things of God, but that when he began again there would soon be trouble. When about to leave Paris for Spain he discovered that he had again been charged before the Inquisition. Once more he sought the judge and demanded trial. The Inquisitor examined and praised the *Spiritual Exercises*, and asked that a copy might be given to him. With characteristic caution Ignatius had taken with him a notary public in order that he might obtain documentary proof of his innocence. Rumors and slanders followed him when he went to Venice. He was said to have been burnt in effigy in Paris and Spain, and his work was badly hampered by such reports. He went to the Papal Nuncio, Girolamo Verallo, and did not rest until his name had been cleared.¹

Before the Company was instituted the members ran into trouble at Rome. They were convinced that an eloquent preacher from Piedmont, named Agostino, was spreading Lutheran errors. His preaching they refuted from their pulpits, but were themselves opposed by certain Spaniards. There was also in Rome a man named Michael to whom Ignatius had been kind in Paris, but who had been refused admission to the Company. He began to spread vile slanders concerning

¹ *Le Récit*, 83-89.

Ignatius and his men, and for some time they were under great shame and scorn. Ignatius would not quietly accept this and forced a trial. Here he produced a letter that Michael had written to him some months before. It completely contradicted his recent slanders and restored Ignatius' good name. However, a public verdict had not been given to clear him and his sons, and Ignatius refused to let the matter rest in abeyance, although many tried to persuade him to do so. He went to the pope, explained to him the whole matter, and urged that full justice should be rendered publicly.

It happened most providentially that at this very time former judges of Ignatius were present in Rome. Figueroa of Alcala, Ori of Paris, and de Dotti from Venice were all available, and all willingly testified in favor of Ignatius. The Governor General, Benedetto Conversino, at length issued a public clearance. "We have found to be singularly false," he said, "all murmurs and accusations brought against them. We declare that Ignatius and his companions have not received infamy, but have gained greater proofs and testimony of their good life and sound doctrine. Given at Rome in our House, 28 December, 1538. Benedetto." Agostino later made public profession as a Lutheran. The other accusers were scattered. And the Company was vindicated by subsequent events as well as by the verdict.²

Other troubles arose later, and one of the most serious happened some eight years after the affair of Agostino. Ignatius had opened the House of St. Martha and had helped a woman to escape to its shelter. She had previously left her husband and was living with

² Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 180 f.

a lover, but wished to quit her evil life. Her lover was furious and stirred up great trouble. Base libels were spread concerning St. Martha's and the Company. Stones were hurled through the windows of the House. For a time the members of the Company were in imminent danger of assaults by the mob. Even princes and cardinals were carried away by the stream of abuse, and became suspicious of Ignatius. Again he urged the pope that the matter should be settled by the courts. It was committed to the governor, Francesco Micheli, and the vicar-general, Philip Archinto. On the eleventh of August, 1546, they brought in a favorable verdict and ordered the defamers to cease their slanders. Ignatius won over the former lover and persecutor by interceding on his behalf.

Similar persecutions were suffered by the Company in other centers. At Parma, where Faber and Lainez were laboring, a heretical preacher sowed the tares of slander against them. Ignatius heard of it and informed the pope. A tribunal of six cardinals investigated and absolved the Company. At Medina a serious situation arose when Don Giovanni Silecio, Archbishop of Toledo, forbade his flock to confess to, or receive the sacraments from, any member of the Company. He refused to retract until a Royal Council read the Bulls concerning the Company and adjudged him to be in the wrong. Pope Julius III also wrote a sharp letter of censure, marveling at his opposition.

When Ignatius was at Salamanca in 1527 he had met with persecution from the Dominicans, and apparently their memory was tenacious. In 1548 Ignatius answered a call from Don Francesco Mendoza by sending Michel de Torres and two others to establish a college. But Cano, a Dominican polemical writer,

a good and learned man, aroused strong opposition against them. Largely through the splendid spirit and work of Strada the persecution after a while died down. Crowds were brought to the preaching as a result of the publicity given, and a great spiritual work was done.

Even more valuable was a letter sent to all members of the Dominican Order by their Master General, Francesco Romeo, in which he commended to his men the Company of Jesus. "The mercy of God has sent us for our aid," said he, "a new religious Order of regular clerics, called the Company of Jesus, which has been approved by our blessed Father, Paul III, moved by the great fruits which it brings forward in all the Church of God. We have wished to advise you of these things lest any of you, moved by the novelty of this Institute, should turn through error against the soldiers whom God has sent to aid us, or talk about those whose works we should rejoice in and imitate." He forbade his men to speak ill of the Company, either in public preaching or private conversation, and concluded by exhorting them to support "this religious Order and its Fathers as soldiers of our same army (*nostra medesima schiera*) and that you defend and aid them against their adversaries."⁸

Guillaume de Prat, Archbishop of Chiaramonte, as a result of the high opinion that he formed of the Company at the Council of Trent, decided to build two colleges and staff them with members of the Order. One of these was built at Paris, and thither Ignatius sent Broet in 1554 as Rector and Provincial. King Henry II was asked for privileges for the Company in founding the college, which request he passed on to

⁸ *Ibid.*, 281 f.

the *Parlement*. The matter was remitted to the Theological Faculty of the University, and after some examination it issued its finding in December. This verdict was colored by personal animus on the part of some of the Doctors, and was a smashing and cruel attack on the Company. "This new Society which attributes to itself the name of Jesus, that receives . . . all sorts of persons however criminal . . . or infamous they may be . . . seems dangerous in that which concerns the Faith, capable of troubling the peace of the Church . . . and more likely to destroy than to build up." All Paris was stirred up against the Society by such an indictment. But the Decree was too severe, and over-shot its bolt. The Inquisition in Spain would not allow it to be read since it impugned the authority and judgment of the Holy See, which had approved the Society. King Henry gave the license requested for the college. The next year Cardinal Charles Guise of Lorraine met Ignatius at a conference in Rome, where he and his friends were convinced that the decree of the Faculty had been published without just reason.

Saragossa also witnessed tumultuous scenes against the Company, and again, in the capital of Aragon, ecclesiastics were in the lead. The Company desired to consecrate a room in the House as a chapel until such time as they would be able to build a church. The Augustinians protested that this would be within the territory to which their influence was supposed to extend from their House. Their statement was not according to actual fact, but it served as a pretext for attack. The archbishop forbade his people to hear Mass in the chapel of the Company and publicly excommunicated all the Jesuits. The people avoided them as the plague. Ribald youths stoned the House and

assaulted any who left it. Finally, the members decided to withdraw. They took their keys to the Senate, and recounted to the senators the call they had received to come to the city, their many labors among the people, the spirit of charity with which they left, and their readiness to return whenever needed. The persecutors began to fear that they had gone too far. The archbishop revoked his commands to his flock, and even sent a message urging the Company to return. This was concurred in by the Senate, and the members were reinstated with great public rejoicing and honor.

In all these trials and persecutions, extended over many years, Ignatius preserved a serene and joyous calm. He felt that tribulations endured for the sake of Christ should be counted as among God's greatest blessings. He knew that work for God would inevitably stir up from some quarters the spirit of opposition. "If we are much afraid of the world," he said, "we shall never do great things for God, for all we do for God raises great persecution against us." The fact that it was almost invariably from within the Church that troubles arose did not sour his spirit. He rejoiced over the persecution by the Archbishop of Medina, since there was no cause for it, and "persecution has always been fruitful." Likewise he heard with great joy of the troubles at Saragossa since he knew that from it would come "fresh strength and growth." Like all great masters of the soul Ignatius esteemed trials for their spiritual value. "If God gives you an abundant harvest of trial," he said, "it is a sign of the great holiness which He desires you to attain." Even during the trying months following the Decree of the Sorbonne he preserved a serene face for he remembered the words of the Lord Jesus, "My peace I give unto you."

But while Ignatius had mastered his own spirit so as to be indifferent to persecutions, and even, Paul-like, "to glory in tribulations," he could burn with indignation when others were made to stumble. He was jealous for the honor of his Company and the good name of his sons. Thus he often took practical and sagacious methods to draw the sting and expose the futility of a particularly vicious attack. He insisted on using reason and justice as a shield for his men. From all Catholic countries he secured from princes, prelates, magistrates, signiors, and universities, sealed testimonies of the worth and value of the work of the Company and had them sent to Rome. Against this mass of ardent evidence the pitiful blast from Paris vanished like a snowflake. Paris against the world was too ridiculous.

But with all his practical shrewdness Ignatius was at heart a mystic. The vision splendid allured him, and persecution opened up one avenue for reaching it. Ignatius was asked one day what was a short way to perfection, to which he replied, "Suffering many and great adversities for the love of Christ."⁴

⁴ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 640.

Chapter 15

The Devoted Auxiliaries

*Take courage, daughters, since the cross
Ye do embrace,
And beg of Jesus Christ, your Light,
To grant you grace,
And He will be your sure defense
In conflict base.*

*To earn disquiet by our prayer,
Doth ill requite,
The while devotion from our soul
Swift wings its flight;
But rest your heart in God, with His
Your will unite.*

— *Santa Teresa de Jesu*

WHEN Ignatius made his vow of chastity to the Virgin Mary after his conversion, his mind thereafter was almost entirely free from thoughts of women. Yet few struggling scholars owed more to women than Ignatius, and many noble women “ministered to him of their substance.” For their help he was always grateful. In his great schemes of social betterment there were also

many women who labored with him in the Gospel. But apart from their relation to the task to which he had consecrated himself, his personal life was lived almost entirely aloof from them. Together with a few rare souls through the ages Ignatius was completely engrossed in his mission.

Some of the monastic orders had women organized for their own particular work. St. Clara had founded the Poor Clares as a body of Franciscan nuns. But many scandals were current concerning some of the convents, and especially where they had been under the direction of monks. Ignatius was well aware of this and decided that his sons should be exempt from temptation from that source. With the exception of one brief episode, to be noted, there was no consideration given to the founding of a female Order in connection with the Company of Jesus. There could be no impeding alliances for soldiers engaged in a strenuous campaign.

As a young gallant at Court, Ignatius was not greatly different from his companions. Like other youthful nobles of the time he may have had his romantic experiences, although there is no record of any scandal in his life. He was versed in the ordinary romances that were then popular, such as the *Amadis of Gaul*, a book for which he asked during his long convalescence. During that same time he had dreams of chivalrous devotion to a certain lady. "This lady," he says, "was not of ordinary nobleness, neither a countess nor a duchess. Her rank was still more lofty." But all such dreams were afterwards swallowed up in his devotion to the Virgin Mary. She became, both for him and for his sons, the ideal of their knightly devotion. On his way to Montserrat after leaving home he barely refrained

from combat with a Moor whom he met on the road. The Moor was not willing to concede that Mary remained a virgin after the birth of Jesus, a viewpoint that Ignatius stoutly maintained. After a fiery discussion the Moor at length galloped on ahead. At a fork in the road Ignatius left it to his beast as to which way to take. It took the other trail from the one taken by the Moor and unconsciously averted a conflict.

A little later Ignatius pledged himself to his new life of chivalric and Christlike service before the Virgin Mother. Garbed in a coarse *sacco* he kept his vigil "the whole night without sitting or lying, but sometimes standing, sometimes on his knees, before the altar of Our Lady of Montserrat."¹ From that night of solemn vigil Ignatius was a dedicated warrior.

His first followers, strangely enough, were women. We saw how a number of them at Alcala were greatly moved by his preaching and unwittingly helped to bring trouble upon him. When Faber visited the city some years later he met two of these first disciples. Beatrice Ramirez and Mencia de Benevanta were now both old and infirm, and Beatrice had gone to a hospital to be cared for. In earlier years Doña Mencia had been rich and had provided Ignatius with alms. When Ignatius heard of her present poverty he ordered the Rector of the college at Alcala to help her. This was done, although the fathers themselves were very poor. Thus did Ignatius remember with gratitude early kindness shown to him. A young noblewoman of Navarre Ignatius never met, but to her he was indebted for one of his noblest recruits. At one time the father of Francis Xavier thought of taking him from his studies. His

¹ *Le Récit*, 14 and 24.

sister, Doña Magdalen Xavier, intervened, and persuaded her father against taking such a step. In so doing she saved Francis for Ignatius and the Indies.

Many personal comforts were bestowed upon Ignatius by women who desired to show their appreciation of his devoted life and work. When at Manresa he might have died but for their interest. He had retired some distance from town and endured a fast for a week. Some pious ladies missed him and made diligent search for him. When he was at length discovered he was very weak and spent. They secured men to carry him back to Manresa where he was cared for until his strength returned. They then persuaded him to dress himself more warmly against the approach of winter. He did accept two little brown blouses of coarse stuff and a bonnet of the same. Other women also showed kindness to him on different occasions. It was a noble lady named Zapilla who provided him with the bread for the voyage from Barcelona to Gaeta, without which the captain would not let him embark. During his imprisonment at Alcala Doña Teresa de Cardenas sent visitors to see him, and even offered to secure his release, although he did not accept the offer. Another devout woman recognized him on his arrival at Salamanca, and took him to his companions who had been there for some days. This obviated a search for a home and necessary comforts in a strange town.

It would have been difficult for Ignatius to launch some of his schemes for social betterment without the sympathetic and active help of noble women. St. Martha's, the home for women that Ignatius founded at Rome, was greatly helped by wealthy ladies who were formed into an organization to care for it. Doña Leonora Osoria, wife of Don Giovanni de Vegha, am-

bassador of Charles V at Rome, was one of these. She "was filled with holy zeal for this charitable work," and was proud to be able to help.

Equally noteworthy was the aid Ignatius received for his colleges from women. Doña Isabella de Vegha, another member of a notable family, built and endowed a college at Bivona, in Sicily. Doña Maria, daughter of King John III, when going into Spain to wed Don Philip, traveled from Portugal with Fathers Faber and Araoz. This gave them an opportunity to found a college at Valladolid under her favoring auspices. At Medina a college was built and endowed by Pietro Quadrato, who was greatly encouraged in the project by his wife. When the Roman College was started by Francis Borgia, a noble lady, Doña Vittoria, a niece of Pope Paul IV and wife of the Marquis Orsino, gave a splendid site for it, and later added buildings to the gift. And so the list of women helpers in good works, valued auxiliaries in the holy war, could be continued in following many of the undertakings of Ignatius.

There were two or three helpful and spiritual friendships that Ignatius enjoyed with women, and one of them was that with Inez Pascual. She was a widow of means whose home was in Barcelona, but who also owned property in Manresa. With her son Juan, then a lad of sixteen, she spent part of each year at the latter place. Ignatius met her on the road after his vigil at Montserrat, and she was attracted by the unusual appearance of the young pilgrim. They became acquainted, and during his stay at Manresa she provided for his modest needs. She also interested other wealthy ladies in him, and there developed between them a fine friendship.

In later years she wrote to him and occasionally received letters from him. He wrote to her on the sixth of December, 1525, from Barcelona, to comfort her on the death of a friend, "that blessed servant whom it has pleased the Lord to call unto Himself." He also advises her concerning difficulties which she had been experiencing in her religious life. "For the love of God our Lord endeavor always to carry out your desires, making nothing of the obstacles; for if you heed them not, temptations will have no strength whatever against you." He continues: "For the love of our Lord let us make efforts for Him, seeing that we owe Him so much; for we tire sooner of receiving His gifts than He of bestowing them upon us." He signs himself "The poor pilgrim, Iñigo." This was one form of his name that he used at first, later discarding it for Ignatius.²

Three years later he wrote again, this time from Paris, to acquaint her with his movements. He says, "May the true peace of Christ our Lord visit and protect your soul. In view of the goodwill and love which in God our Lord you have always felt for me, and shown me by deeds, I have determined to write this to you, and in it to acquaint you with my travels since I parted from you. With favorable weather and in enjoyment of perfect health, through the grace and goodness of our Lord, I arrived on the second of February in this town of Paris, where I am studying until the Lord otherwise orders me." He remembers her boy and sends a word of greeting, "Commend me much to Juan and tell him to be obedient to his parents, and to keep the feasts; that by so doing he may fare well upon earth and also in heaven." He also thinks of a neighbor

² *Letters*, 1 f.

whose "love for and goodwill toward God our Lord are ever present to me," and concludes, "From Paris, the third of March, 1528, Poor in goodness, Ignigo" (another early variant of his name). In still later years the gratitude of Ignatius for the privilege of her friendship was shown in the gift of a crucifix to Juan, and a correspondence with him to the end of Ignatius' life.

The most important of the friendships of Ignatius with women was that with Isabel Roser. On his way to the Holy Land he found the port of Barcelona closed, owing to the plague, and he therefore ministered for a time in the hospitals. One day Isabel saw him at the Cathedral, felt drawn toward him, and invited him to her home. There his talk on spiritual things so inflamed both her heart and that of her husband that they became staunch friends. Her name lives because of her kindness to him.

Very early in their friendship he probably owed to her his life. He had arranged to travel on a brigantine when the port should again open. Isabel found a better ship for him upon which he took his passage. The brigantine sailed from port and was lost at sea. When Ignatius began his studies at Alcala it was Isabel who made provision for his needs. As the years passed, her almost maternal care for him continued unabated. She contributed to his support in Venice. Thus we find him writing from there, on the twelfth of February, 1536, to Jacobo Cazador, who was at that time Archdeacon, but ten years later became Bishop of Barcelona. Ignatius is writing of several things but says:

"You say that you will not fail in your customary contributions, only that I must let you know when it is required. Isabel Roser writes that for next April she will provide, so that I may finish my studies. That,

it seems to me, will be the best arrangement, so that I may be provided for the whole year not only with books but also with necessary things. In the meantime, although this country costs me dear, and my state of health does not help me to endure want or bodily hardships beyond those that study entails, still I am fairly well provided for, because Isabel Roser has had twelve crowns paid to me here on her account, over and above the favor and alms you sent me, for the love and service of God our Lord."

Ignatius did not scruple to receive aid from the friends to whom he had ministered in spiritual things, when he had himself renounced wealth and gainful occupations for the sake of the work of God. And so he thankfully accepted their proffered gifts since he had the "desire to be always in a position to preach in poverty." He did appreciate most deeply the sustained interests of the friends in Barcelona, of whom the chief was surely Isabel Roser. Going on to speak of his hope to preach there again the next year, he writes, "It seems to me, and indeed I have no doubt, that I am more indebted to that city of Barcelona than to any other place on this earth."⁸

Toward its close this long and fruitful friendship was unhappily clouded. Faber met Isabel at Barcelona some years later, when she had become a widow. She was thinking seriously of going to Rome in order to serve God better, and to that end planned to take a large sum of money with her to be used for any good work. She did go to Rome, and evidently with the intention of founding an Order for women under the direction of Ignatius. Permission was obtained from

⁸ *Letters*, 12.

Pope Paul III, and in 1545 Isabel Roser, Lucrezia Bradine, and Francisca Cruyllas, took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The movement was destined to be short-lived. Ignatius declared that it cost him more trouble than any other matter that he had to deal with, and it was not long before he decided that he must be free from any oversight or responsibility for such an enterprise. That decision was confirmed when a nephew of Isabel's charged that Ignatius had used undue influence to secure his aunt's money. He retracted his statements when brought into court, and very possibly self-interest had been the basis of them. But Ignatius took immediate action. He begged the pope to relieve him of any further responsibility toward such an Order, and on the twentieth of May, 1547, letters Apostolic were issued that absolved the Company from any future direction of women. An attempt to recover money that had already been used in the work at Rome was unsuccessful, and Isabel returned to Spain a disappointed woman. It was undoubtedly a deep sense of gratitude that caused Ignatius to make this one brief departure from his better judgment. Isabel died the year before Ignatius, but it is good to know that before the end something of the old friendship was revived and their correspondence renewed.

Another woman made a long and vain attempt to induce Ignatius to undertake the spiritual direction of the Monastery of St. Clare. It had been founded in 1253, but at this time there was trouble and discord because of the lives of some of the women. One of the more spiritual of its members was Teresa Rejadella. Together with others of like mind she thought that great reforms might be brought about if Ignatius could

be induced to take charge, but he steadily refused all such advances. He was willing to help any of them individually, so far as he could, but not to take over the direction of the Monastery. In the letter to Jacobo Cazador already quoted, he says, "With regard to what you write to me about the monastery of St. Clare . . . certainly, I should greatly like to lend a helping hand to these nuns, if in any way I could put their religious exercises and discipline on a sure footing, especially of the one who finds herself in so great anguish and peril."

A little later in the same year, on the eighteenth of June, 1536, he wrote replying to a letter that he had received from Teresa. "You ask me," he said, "that for the love of God our Lord I should take charge of you. It is true that for these many years His divine majesty, without any desert of mine, has fostered in me the desire to give all the consolation I can to every man and woman that walks in the way of His holy will and approval and also to serve those who labor in His holy service. Because I do not doubt that you are one of them I shall be pleased to have the opportunity of putting my wishes into effect."⁴ At some length he then goes on to deal with problems in her spiritual life.

Three months later, on the eleventh of September, he again wrote, confirming his former exhortations. Seven years afterwards he wrote from Rome on November 15, 1543, a letter delivered by Araoz, in which he deals with the practice of daily Communion. But his relations with St. Clare were never any but those which correspondence alone permitted.

For the future guidance of his sons he wrote into the

⁴ *Letters*, 20.

Constitutions the result of his thought and experiences in this connection. "Since the members of this Society should always be prepared to go to any quarter of the globe to which they shall be sent by the Pope, or their Superiors, they shall not undertake the care of souls, nor of Religious, or any other woman whatsoever, so as commonly to hear their confessions, or direct them; although there is no objection to their receiving the confessions of a monastery once, and for special reasons."⁵ Only once did Ignatius break his own rule, and that was when he named Fr. Diego d'Eguia, then an old man, to act as confessor at the House of St. Martha, which was of his own founding and under his own care as General in Rome.

The heart of Ignatius was that of a chivalrous knight of Christ where the safeguarding of women was concerned. The Houses of St. Catherine and St. Martha witnessed to that. When he was at Alcala he tried to dissuade a mother, Mary del Vado, and her daughter from going on a pilgrimage. "They were very advanced in spiritual things," and wished to go on foot to Veronica de Jaen. Ignatius knew well the perils of the road, especially since the daughter was young and good-looking, but they ignored his advice to serve the poor in Alcala instead, and went off on their journey. During their absence of forty-three days Ignatius was actually blamed for the very thing he had tried to prevent, and he was only cleared by their fortunate return.

Physical danger did not daunt him when it was necessary to face it. On the journey from Gaeta to Rome he rescued a mother and daughter from a band of soldiers. They were all staying overnight at a farm-

⁵ *Constitutiones*, VI, III, 5.

house, and during the night the women were molested and called for help. Ignatius rescued them from their assailants and started with them for Rome. He was almost killed on another occasion. The Convent of the Angels, near Barcelona, was haunted day and night by dissolute men, sadly believing its name. By daily prayers and exhortations Ignatius at length won over the nuns to a reformation of life. They closed the doors upon their callers, to the deep chagrin and rage of the men. These hired two Moors who waylaid and attacked Ignatius and a companion. His companion, Anthony Pujol, was killed, and Ignatius was left for dead. For thirty days he lay at death's door, but after spending two months in bed he slowly recovered. When he finally arose he went back to the convent and continued his exhortations undeterred. A merchant of the town, Ribera, who had incited the attack, confessed and begged forgiveness. The new Bayard of Christian chivalry had conquered his foe.⁸

Ignatius was rigidly careful in seeking to guard his men from the laxity of life and morals that had stained so many of the clergy and edged the swords of the Reformation. He even dismissed one of his men for an unseemly jest. If a member were confessing a woman a third party had to be near. One of them was once called upon unexpectedly for this duty. He could find no companion to take with him and so went alone. He was a well-tried man, and there was no breath of scandal, but Ignatius ordered him to scourge himself in the presence of some of the brethren. The rule could not be broken with impunity.

Equally was he insistent with respect to women in

⁸ Bartoli, *Life*, I, 114-117.

the House. He had decreed that, "It is a matter of propriety and decency that no woman enter our Houses and Colleges, but our Churches only." One day the doorkeeper of the House in Rome was absent. The substitute he left in charge also went off for a time. While the door was thus left unguarded an elderly and pious Spanish woman entered. Fr. Miona was at dinner, and to him she talked for a long time. Ignatius learned of it, and all those who had been negligent were ordered to scourge themselves.

In any conversation with women Ignatius felt that there was possible danger, and so on their first arrival at Rome he had warned his companions to be "on guard." In the missions to the Indies he urged and enforced the same rule. He said that "all familiarity with women was to be avoided, and not less with those who are spiritual, or wish to appear so; but principally with those who are more dangerous because of age, or state, or natural condition; because with these conversations men are accustomed to be inflamed or to burn, and if flame does not come from it at least smoke is given off (*almeno fumo ne eshala*)."¹

With tender solicitude Ignatius watched over his youths. He never exposed his novices, especially when young, to dangerous trials, although he required the strict discipline and mortifications that the Constitutions prescribe. And his training bore rich fruit. Martin of Navarre bore testimony to the college at Coimbra. There were more than a hundred students who were full of life and subject to temptations, yet in seven years he had never heard one person say a word against them. Bartoli wrote his *Life* nearly a century

¹ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 650.

after the death of Ignatius, and he was able to testify that the morals of the Company stood high. They had not suffered although the members mingled with all ranks and ages, alike in European cities and among corrupt and barbarous races. The chivalric reverence of Ignatius for women seemed to be focused in his devotion to the Virgin Mary. That devotion he transmitted to his sons like an adamant shield of virtue. "Love her," said he, "as your Mother, serve her as your sovereign Lady."

Chapter 16

The Disciplined Commander

The royal road leading to God is found nowhere save in a true mortification of the vices and in a true exercise of the virtues, in which exercise thou must be constant and persevering, turning aside from it at no time by so much as a hair's breadth either to the right hand or to the left.

— *Juan de los Angeles*

NO COMMANDER can lead to conquest unless first he has achieved victory within himself. Nor can he impart the rigorous discipline needed for success until the iron has entered his own soul. The storms of ridicule and persecution might rage around Ignatius but his heart knew the serene calm of an assured victory. He might impose on his men impossible tasks but he laid on them no more than he had already done himself. Others he might discipline severely, but none had to pass through such trials as those from which, like refined gold, he had emerged. "His passions, his sensibility, his indignation, were under perfect control."

In his youth he was naturally quick and fiery, but he conquered his ardent nature so completely that in later years even the doctors thought him cold and phlegmatic. In his complete possession of himself, "Nature was so subdued by grace and reason as to be entirely under his control." The fires still burned, but as in a crucible. And so "there remained to him both the vigor and the rigor useful in the execution of the things he had in hand."¹

The natural affections for loved ones are among the most powerful and tenacious in human life. To respond to the seemingly harsh requirement of Jesus that he come before even father and mother is wholly possible only to those who sublimate their affection, and thus love their dear ones only the more truly and profoundly because they love them for His sake. Into that select circle Ignatius won his way. "He had greatly mortified," said one, "the affections of the flesh and of blood, and the natural love of parents, as if he had been a man born without father or mother or lineage, or totally dead to the world." He was not inhuman, for few hearts were more tender than his, but the "expulsive power of a new affection" for Christ so dominated him that lesser loves lived only to be transfigured in its blazing light and entirely trans-fused with it.

Very touching is the pathos of the parting from the old home when, like Abram, he went out on his venture of faith. His brother Martin had seen it coming, and when the time arrived he pleaded with impassioned eloquence for Ignatius to reconsider. "In you, my brother," said he, "are all those things in the

¹ *Ibid.*, 565 f.

highest degree, ability, justice, courage, the favor and grace of princes, the goodwill and love of all men in these regions, use and experience in warfare, foresight, prudence, and vigilance. In addition, you are today in the flower of your youth, and your expectations are of the highest, founded on the above things.” Having thus shown him the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them, that he was renouncing forever, Martin came closer home. He touched on the ties of blood and gladly took the second place. “In only one thing do I surpass you, that I was born before you and am your older brother. But in everything else I yield to you and recognize you as my superior.”²

Only a heart of stone could have listened to such pleadings unmoved. We can well believe that Ignatius replied “in few words.” But the call of God was upon him and the dearest ties of nature came second. He said that he had indeed well thought of what he was doing; that he would always remember that he was of good and noble parents; and that he would promise never to bring dishonor upon his house. Thus did he leave home, seeming to himself as he crossed the paternal threshold to shake off the dust of all earthly affections. Only once did he return, which was after leaving Paris, and then for one night only did he sleep out of the hospital. In reply to the entreaty of his sister-in-law he slept for that night on the floor of his old home.

Although Ignatius thus severed himself from his family he longed that his “brethren according to the flesh” might come to know the Lord. When he wrote to them his letters were full of urgent and loving

² Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 16-18.

entreaty. Thus in June, 1532, some ten years after he left home, he wrote from Paris to his brother Martin. "May the grace and love of Christ our Lord be always with us," he begins, in apostolic fashion. "I have received your letter and have greatly rejoiced with your daughter in the Divine Majesty, in His service, and in His love, as also because of your decision in regard to your son." He goes on to give a glimpse into his heart, and the affection for them that had made it difficult for him to write before. Now that he has better control of himself he promises to write more frequently. "In order to cure a grievous wound men apply first one ointment, then a second, and a third. So at the beginning of my journey a certain course of treatment was necessary for me; a little further on a different one does me no harm."

His eager love, undimmed by ten years' absence, leads him to exhort his brother not to neglect the true riches in caring for his earthly estate. "I beg of you, for the reverence and love of God our Lord, that you endeavor by every means in your power to gain honor in heaven, fame and remembrance before the Lord who is to be our Judge, and who has given you earthly things in abundance. With them gain eternal things; give good example and sound instruction to your children, your dependents, and your relatives." Martin is thinking of sending his youngest son, Millan, to Paris for study. Ignatius promises to look after the youth and gives advice as to his coming. He sends greetings to his uncle, Don Andres de Loyola, Rector of Azpeitia, to his sister-in-law, Martin's wife, and others. He closes by asking them to recommend him before God.³

³ *Letters*, 48.

Some nine years later Ignatius wrote from Paris to his sister, Magdalena de Loyola, and again he sounds the same note of loving concern:

"May the highest grace and love of Christ our Lord ever favor us continually and help us. Some days ago, on receiving a letter from you, and gathering from it your good desires and holy eagerness for the greater glory of God, I was filled with great joy in our Lord. May it please Him, in His infinite and supreme goodness, ever to increase in you His love in all things, so that not in part only, but entirely, you may set all your affection and desires upon the same Lord, and upon all creatures for His sake, conversing with those who speak and act to the glory of His divine Majesty, frequently going to Confession, and receiving the most holy Sacrament as often as you can; that so He may bring your soul to be united in everything with Him by the bond of true hope, and may increase in you that lively faith and most necessary charity without which we cannot be saved."

As a man of fifty his mind goes back to early scenes and friends with a touch of that divine nostalgia which God has put within all men, and so he concludes: "Recall me to the memory of those who love you in our Lord, and who will be pleased to know that I remember them, and ask them to commend me to His divine Majesty, and to visit me in Him. And may He in His infinite and supreme goodness deign to grant us abundance of grace that we may recognize His most holy will and accomplish it entirely.

From Rome, May 24, 1541.

Kept back until June 10.

Poor in goodness, Iñigo."⁴

⁴ *Letters*, 48.

In these and similar letters Ignatius reveals the deep love that through the years he retained for those near and dear to him. Those affections were not destroyed, but for the sake of the great cause their purely natural expression was sternly repressed. How much that hidden and transmuted love enriched all his activities who can tell. Many fertile vineyards adorn the slopes of Etna.

If Ignatius denied himself the joys of love that were natural and right much more rigorously did he bridle and check illicit affections. We have seen the attitude of Ignatius toward women, both in early and later life. But the formal vows of chastity were preceded by an abiding experience during his convalescence at Loyola. On a certain night he saw a vision of Our Lady and the holy Child. It so affected him that he felt a great disgust for his past life, especially the things of the flesh. From that moment he no longer had the least inclination for them. All impure thoughts and evil desires (*brutto*) were effaced from his mind forever.⁵

Upon his followers he urged the most rigorous care. "Let all most diligently guard the gates of the senses (of their eyes, especially, their ears and their tongues), from all intemperance or vice; and maintain themselves in peace and true internal humility, and manifest it in silence, when silence is to be observed; when speaking is allowed, in circumspection and edification of words, in modesty of features, in decorum and gravity of gait and attitude."⁶ He advised his men to turn all their arms against the vice by which they felt themselves to be most strongly pressed and not sound a retreat until, with God's help, they had conquered

⁵ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 13. Cf. *Le Récit*, 17.

⁶ *Constitutiones*, III, I, 4.

it. He knew the surest antidote against all possible dangers was the love of God. If they wished to help others they must first burn in the fire of love divine. They must uproot from the heart all sensual and vicious motives, so that having torn up all the roots of passion they might the better receive in their hearts the divine influences and communicate them to others.

To the stoical endurance of pain Ignatius steeled himself with an inflexible fortitude. We saw him as a young soldier endure agonies with his wounded leg. At Manresa he slept on the ground, wore a hair shirt and a length of chain, and lived on a glass of water and one piece of black bread a day. To the pangs of hunger he became almost indifferent, and once, to secure greater spiritual benefits, he endured a fast for a whole week. He went to Manresa a robust man of great strength, but the effects of the austerities he there visited upon his body remained with him through life.

All through the years he was afflicted with great pains in his stomach, and an autopsy revealed a hardened condition of the liver, with two or three stones in it. But when he was most tormented with pain he would never utter a groan. A happy countenance he ever displayed to the world, not a knowledge of his ills. His perfect self-control made him appear well-nigh impassive to pain. On one occasion a Father was sewing a bandage round his neck, and pierced his ear. With a quiet word Ignatius drew his attention to it.

No feeling of nausea was allowed to deter him from rendering the most loathsome service to the sick in the hospitals. On one occasion he was tending a victim of the plague, and felt a pain in his hand. He thought

that he might have contracted the disease, and to conquer his feeling of repulsion the former fastidious Basque noble put the ministering hand into his mouth. So did Ignatius die daily to the things men dread and suffer. Over all such feelings he won a complete and lasting victory.

It is difficult for the natural man to quell the feeling of resentment for injuries received. But Ignatius won through to a serenity of spirit that nothing of that sort could ruffle. A man to whom he intrusted money in Paris misappropriated it and went to Rouen. Ignatius received word that he had fallen sick there, and was in need. At once he set off on the journey of twenty-eight leagues, fasting the whole of the three days' journey. He tended the culprit back to health, gave him letters of introduction to friends, and sent him back to Spain. Thither he went "giving thanks to God that there was in the world a man who avenged injuries that he had received by conferring benefits, and rewarded offenses and hurts with such charitable offices."

The House at Rome was darkened by a high wall between it and the adjoining property. The owner on the other side could have allowed the wall to be removed without any detriment to himself, but he churlishly refused to allow the Company to take it down. Ignatius would have won his case had he gone to law, but this he refused to do. For eight years he endured the inconvenience until, at the end of that time, he was able to buy the other property.

Ignatius waged a long and constant struggle to acquire such a mastery over his feelings and passions. He made frequent and serious self-examination. He imposed penance upon himself, and gradually acquired

a constant peace. A favor could be asked of him at any time, since he was always the same. If it were necessary to administer a reproof to one person, while he was speaking with another, he could put on like a mask a look of severity; the duty over, he would drop the mask and return to his former conversation. Like the ocean, the ruffles were on the surface, but beneath that there was untroubled peace. He once said that the only thing that could destroy his peace would be for the Company to dissolve, and if this happened, through no fault of his, a quarter of an hour would restore peace to his soul. In everything he was completely resigned to the Divine Will.

Sometimes a gleam of humor shines out as Ignatius heaps coals of fire upon his enemies. In 1546 there was in Rome a Religious who was at first well disposed toward Ignatius. Later he became jealous and said that he wished to burn (*fare abbruciare*) all the Company in Spain, from Perpignano to Seville. Ignatius wrote in reply: "I could desire that he and all his friends not only in Perpignano and Seville, but in all the world, were inflamed and burning with the fire of love divine (*sciano accesi e abbruciati dal fuoco del Divino amore*), so that rising to greater perfection they should be signally blessed in the glory of the divine Majesty."⁷

Ignatius learned the lesson of infinite patience, and so he was the victim neither of incautious enthusiasm nor of waning interest. When planning a new undertaking he looked to the end rather than to the beginning. He made no decision either in the transport of fervor nor when under deep depression. But once he had decided on a course of action there was

⁷ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 539.

no neglect or slackening until the matter had been brought to a successful issue. In thirty-four years, no matter what the weather, he did not put off for an hour anything he had decided upon for the greater glory of God. On one occasion he had to visit Cardinal Caraffa on a matter of business. Serious friction had arisen between them some years earlier, and the Cardinal kept him waiting for fourteen hours. Ignatius had no opportunity to obtain refreshment, but his patience would not permit him to leave until he had performed his mission.

It was the deep humility of Ignatius more, perhaps, than any other quality, that impressed those about him with a strong sense of the unusual spirituality of the man. His disciple wished to write his life so that he might manifest and discover to the world the excellent virtue which he held secret and hid under the veil of his humility. And right nobly did Ribadeneira manifest that virtue. Ignatius knew that there can be no genuine humility without submission to the will of God. He might have quoted with approval the words of St. Augustine, "Pride is love of self even to contempt of God. Humility is love of God even to contempt of self."

The spiritual life of Ignatius was based on utter self-abasement. During the period of his Manresa austerities he was reproached for abasing the dignity of his family, and outraging in his person the image of God. He taught that the short road to humility was to go contrary in everything to worldly men. He declared that Divine Humility had three grades. The first was that for no human honors and for no dread of death would we even deliberate about breaking a commandment, whether divine or human, which bound us

“under mortal sin.” The second was in our being indifferent to riches or poverty, honor or shame, a long life or a short one, when all were equally for the glory of God and for the salvation of our own souls, thus never entering into deliberation “about committing a venial sin” no matter what might be promised or threatened us. The third consisted in definitely choosing such poverty or shame in order to be like Christ. This, however, is more fully explained by Ignatius:

“The third is most perfect Humility (*la tercera es humildad perfectissima*), that is to say, when, including the first and second, in a case where the praise and glory of the Divine Majesty are equal, for the better imitation of Christ our Lord and the more actual likeness to Him, I wish and choose rather poverty with Christ poor than riches (*mas pobreza con Christe pobre que riqueza*), reproaches with Christ laden with reproaches than honors (*opprobrios con Christe lleno dellos, que honores*), and I desire to be accounted a good-for-nothing and a fool (*por vano y loco*) for Christ’s sake, who before me was held for such, rather than wise and prudent in this world.”⁸

At Manresa Ignatius set himself to subdue the worldly pride which was then the groundwork of his character. And hence the rags, the dirt, the nauseous orderly work in the hospitals. When affronted he was filled with joy, for he said that those who wish to rise high must begin very low. As high as the summit of the edifice to be raised, so correspondingly deep must the foundations be laid. He would rarely speak of himself or his own affairs unless by so doing he could help others, or strengthen and console his companions.

⁸ *Spiritual Exercises*, 137 f.

In the edifice of spiritual perfection the Religious should be as the stones in Solomon's temple, laid without sound of hammer. Nothing was to be done with the object of attracting attention. At the same time their conduct should never through slackness incur well-merited blame. He wrote to Polanco at Florence in February, 1547. The work at Florence had not greatly prospered, and among other suggestions for improvement Ignatius says, "I wish that . . . you should exercise acts of greater humility, to the greater confusion of the enemy of the world and of the flesh; for instance, for some hours in the day you should serve the poor in the hospitals, and give comfort to their souls by Confession and exhortation."⁹

When he became General the humility of Ignatius was equally as marked as when he was a pilgrim. He refused the position at first, for he knew his own limitations, and the welfare of the Order was his first consideration. Nor would he consider his own name being given to the Society. When he did assume office he served for a time in the kitchen. Like Brother Lawrence he could feel that there, among the pots and pans, he possessed God in as great tranquillity as when upon his knees before the Blessed Sacrament. He was servant to all, even being called by his name, Ignatius, like any other helper in the kitchen.

The Company grew and flourished, and when Pope Julius III confirmed it in his Bull of July 21, 1550, Ignatius knew that it was established on a firm and abiding foundation. He wished then for another to assume the burden of leadership, and called the Fathers to Rome to consider the proposal. Andrew of Oviedo

⁹ *Letters*, 90.

disliked to oppose the wishes of his General, but all the others, while they admired his humility, refused to accede to the request. He was the Father of the Company, their Master and Guide, and while he lived they could be satisfied to have no other as General.

For a long time he refused to give the story of his life to his followers. Happily, he was finally prevailed upon to do so a few months before his death. He related to Gonzales his adventures as a pilgrim (*Le Récit du Pélerin*) but brought the story down only to the year 1543. The same humility of spirit that did not wish to preserve his story would not allow him to have his portrait painted. Not until after his death were his sons able to secure one, and then the spirit that animated his features had fled. The glory of God, not of Ignatius, was his constant theme, and he sought only what would enhance it. Vainglory held no temptation for him. "Vainglory," he said, "is a worm that gnaws the cedars of Lebanon." No wonder is it that for his sons his life and teaching reduced the fading glories of the world to dust and ashes.

His death revealed the simple humility of the man. He knew his end was near, but he made no trouble. He did not call his sons around him. He deferred to the judgment of Polanco. Through the hours of darkness he went into the valley of the shadow alone, as one of no importance, but as a man of lowly spirit. "Lord give me humility, but a humility which permits me to love Thee," had been his prayer. And that prayer was abundantly answered, "The Lord gave to Ignatius a spirit of profound humility."

Chapter 17

In Bivouac

Who can have adorned such great heavens with so many precious stones and such brilliant diamonds? Who can have made so many lights and lamps to illumine the world? Who can have decked out a land of such beauteous meadows with such variety of flowers, save some most glorious and powerful Creator?

— Luis de Granada

THERE are some lives so dominated by an imperial purpose that they have little time or inclination for minor issues. There have been generals so tireless in the campaign that all needless bivouacs have been avoided, and only the stern needs of their troops have compelled a halt. The mind of Ignatius was filled with a great passion, and that was to make God known and loved through service to his fellow men. In the pursuit of that dominant interest he allowed himself but little respite. The many cultural interests that flowered in the Renaissance, the interest in Art such as Pope Julius II displayed, had little attraction for him. The passion of the Humanist scholars for learning made no appeal

to his mind. Ignatius could not cherish the love for books of an Erasmus. His task was to win souls, and he had the Pauline gift for seeing the strategic center where he could touch most men for God. He was absorbed in his work and so we find but few traces of relaxation in gentle recreations. The tense bow was only rarely unstrung.

Ignatius was not insensible to the beauties of Nature and the Spirit that "breathes through all things." Like the Psalmist he "considered the heavens," and always they drew out his soul to the great Creator. During his convalescence at Pampeluna his greatest pleasure, he tells us, "was to look on the skies and the stars, and he did it often and long, for thereby he felt in himself a great impulse toward the service of God our Lord." They brought him a great inspiration and an urge to disdain all earthly and transitory things. The silent stars swinging round in their orbits, untouched by the sins and the sorrows of mortals, greatly affected him.

He was once observed to climb to a place where he had a clear view of them. For a long time he fixed his eyes on the heavens, at first kneeling and then sitting on a low stool, and silently he wept. Their crystalline purity appealed to him most powerfully. As an old man he was heard to say, "Ah, how foul and noisome (*lorda e fetente*) is the earth when I look up and contemplate the heavens." But chiefly they spoke to him of the One who can "bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades and loose the bands of Orion." And always he was lost in adoration and worship.

He was not unmindful of the humbler things of earth. A small garden attached to the House at Rome gave him great pleasure. Like the harvests at Lystra it reminded him that God "gave us rain from heaven

and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." Fields enameled with flowers provided food for sublime reflections. Often from seeing a plant, an herb, a flower, or some fruit, he would raise his soul to God. Even from "a worm or some other little animal he raised himself above the heavens and penetrated interior things. And from a trifling thing he drew some doctrine for the instruction of the spiritual life."¹ Like other gifted souls he could see in a daisy a parable of human life, in a timorous mouse a fellow mortal, and in aspiring ruins above a valley intimations of immortality.

The magic realm of music called to him, but here again sterner duties forbade participation in its joys. Music always affected him powerfully, and especially the stately hymns of the Church. What gave joy to him would, he knew, also give pleasure to many others, and he was no discourager of innocent joys. To a gay young novice, Francis Cortero, he remarked, "I, my son, say to you, laugh and rejoice in the Lord, for a good Religious has no cause for sadness, but, on the contrary, many reasons to be joyful."

Nevertheless Ignatius deliberately excluded his men from singing in choir, as was the practice of other Orders. In the *Capitoli* which he submitted to Pope Paul III he decreed that they should not recite the divine Office in common and with the usual chanting. He realized the value of these things, but felt that they might impede the work of his men in active service. He therefore left to other Orders the work of praising God in choir, since he had to choose between it and duties he felt to be more urgent.

¹ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 524 and 530.

To Ribadeneira he admitted the usefulness that he drew from song, with which his heart was marvelously recreated and softened, raising it to God. He acknowledged further that if he had followed his taste and natural inclination he would have instituted a choir in the Company, but because he despised everything in which he took merely natural pleasure and toward which he thus felt drawn, and because he delighted himself only in what was more pleasing and of greater service to God on the part of his new organization, he did not put it there. He added that our Lord had taught him that He wished to be served by the members of the Company in other ministries and in different duties; and although the occupation of singing in choir is such a holy and useful thing in the Church it nevertheless was not their vocation to which they were called by God. Such an innovation for a religious Order was resented by many good churchmen, but Ignatius held quietly to his views and saw them accepted, first by the pope and gradually by others.

While singing was thus omitted from the formal daily duties of the Company, Ignatius did not check the spontaneous expression of Christian joy, neither did his men so interpret his mind. During the long march of the companions from Paris to Venice they endured great hardships, having little bread and walking barefoot (*scalzi*) twenty-eight miles a day through roads full of mud and water. But their hearts were so full of joy because they were enduring these things for the love of God that they sang the songs of David. The pain and tedium of travel were beguiled by the sacred ministry of the Psalms.

Their converts often gave similar expression to their

new-found joy. When Xavier left Malacca men and women were singing the laws of God, the fisher by his nets and the shepherd with his flocks all joined in the chorus of praise. Similar scenes were witnessed in other places. Sometimes boys' choirs were organized and trained to sing the truths of the Gospel. Polanco has recorded how in Gandia, "In the whole city day or night nothing else was sung by big or little except the Christian doctrine. The workers at trades in the city and farmers in the fields solaced their labors with this song, and mothers did not blush to learn it from their sons."²

Neither by nature nor training was Ignatius a book-man, and in scholarship he was excelled by many of his sons. In 1537 he wrote a letter from Venice to Pietro Contarini who had recently made the *Spiritual Exercises* with him. He was a nephew of Cardinal Contarini, "my very dear friend in Christ," as Ignatius describes the older man. The letter was written in Latin with occasional paragraphs in Italian. Of the Italian a competent scholar writes, "This letter was evidently written when St. Ignatius knew very little Italian, and the liberties taken with the language and the grammar are such as only a saint can expect to see forgiven, either in this world or the next."³ Nor was the Latin very much better.

At the same time it is nevertheless true that books had quite a place in the life of Ignatius, apart from his own *Spiritual Exercises* and Constitutions. Bartoli tells us that while he was still a soldier he wrote verses in Castilian on moral and religious subjects, and a

² Van Dyke, *Ignatius Loyola*, 188.

³ *Letters*, 113.

long poem on St. Peter. Doubtless they were written to occupy spare time in camp, and the subjects might have been chosen by any devout Catholic. It was by the reading of holy books, we recall, the *Life of Christ* and the *Lives of the Saints*, that God brought Ignatius to Himself and inspired him with an ardent desire for a new life. He afterwards had a book bound of some three hundred pages in which he began to jot down thoughts from his reading and selections from the *Life of Christ* and *the Saints*. "He wrote the words of Jesus in red ink and those of the Virgin in blue ink. The paper was smooth and lined, and he was a good writer."⁴

The Imitation of Christ, by Thomas à Kempis, fell into his hands at Manresa. To him it became "the pearl of books," and was never afterwards out of reach. He read slowly a chapter from it every day and translated it into daily life. He gave a copy of it to each monk at the monastery of Monte Cassino when he gave the Spiritual Exercises there to the envoy of Charles V. During the time that he wrote the Constitutions, his Breviary, the Gospels, and *The Imitation of Christ*, were the only books on his table. It became one of the formative books of his life, "his constant counselor and inseparable companion." It was also at Manresa that he began to gather a library, which grew to eighty volumes, treating of the profound problem of the Trinity, a subject in which he was always deeply interested. He was poorly dressed when he left Manresa, but he was abundantly provided with paper and all the necessities for writing, because he was always most careful to write down whatever might be useful to his

⁴ *Le Récit*, 18.

spiritual life. No doubt his papers included the book of three hundred pages from Loyola, that probably now contained the *Spiritual Exercises*.⁵

At Barcelona he read *The Christian Soldier* by Erasmus, but he did not like it. Erasmus was a Humanist, while Ignatius gave first place to the Faith and the Church. Afterwards he would allow none of his men, save the older Fathers, to read it. He would not permit them to read even a good book written by a suspected writer, since he thought that the esteem felt for the book might be transferred to its author. To regain or retain men for the Catholic faith, for him the only true Faith, was his constant endeavor, and all things had to serve that great end. So great was his respect for the authority of the Church that he would use only the Vulgate version of the Bible.

He was careful to make provision for proper studies in his colleges. Thus he wrote in the Constitutions concerning university students, "Those books shall be read which are esteemed of more safe and solid doctrine in any faculty, nor shall those be entered on whose doctrine or authors are suspected. As touching Latin and Greek books of Humanity, both in our Universities and Colleges, as far as possible those shall not be used which contain anything prejudicial to good morals, except they have been purified of improper things and words."⁶ Plato, in his *Republic*, and Ignatius were at one in the omission or expurgation of certain writers for the use of the young. But Ignatius did not long keep company with him, for he ordered that the teaching of Aristotle was to be followed in Natural and Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics.

⁵ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 40; cf. Astrain, *Life*, 19.

⁶ *Constitutiones*, IV, XIV, 1-2.

Ignatius read to increase devotion rather than to make a display of learning. He desired the same for his sons, and so he banned books of chivalry and romance because they took time that might be devoted to more solid and pious books. Even meal-times were turned to advantage in the Houses by appointing one to read. Concerning those who are advancing in probation he directs: "In the refectory of the body care must be taken that in all things temperance, moderation, and decorum be observed, both internally and externally. Let a blessing go before and a giving of thanks follow, which all should offer with that reverence and devotion which is due. And while the body is refreshed with eating let food be also ministered to the soul, in the reading of some pious rather than difficult book, which all may understand and from which all may get profit."⁷

A sermon might be given for variety at the discretion of the Superior. The reading, however, like all other occupations, had to be done at its regular and appointed time. Ignatius rebuked Father Olave for introducing public reading at other times than at refectory. The fact that it was from the Breviary, and about the saint for the day, did not avert censure for the innovation.

And so Ignatius, with almost puritanical severity, pursued his great purpose. Apparently he was unconscious of the glorious art by which he was surrounded. We would never know from him that he and Raphael, that supreme master of the brush, were contemporaries. It would be equally difficult to gather that during the sixteen years that Ignatius lived in Rome Michel-

⁷ *Constitutiones*, III, 1 and 5.

angelo, mighty architect, noted sculptor, and tireless painter, was a fellow citizen. Michelangelo and Raphael enriched St. Peter's and the Vatican with the immortal genius of their wondrous art; Ignatius was seeking in the common clay of human life diamonds in the rough, to be polished for his Redeemer's crown. The recreations and relaxations of other men could not divert him from that sacred and tireless pursuit.

To that quest he gave himself unceasingly without pause or slackening. He realized that "the night cometh when no man can work," and the thought drove him relentlessly forward. The quarry might seek to elude this tireless huntsman, this ardent campaigner of God, but "Still with unhurrying chase, and unperturbed pace . . . came on the following feet." Relentless and unremitting was the warfare and not until "he passed over and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side," could this keen and eager spirit, with his warrior grandeur, find relaxation in the Bivouac of God.

Chapter 18

The Sagacious Leader

But I would warn thee, my brother, that he who would see the face of that most powerful Wrestler, our boundless God, must first have wrestled with himself, and be a man that is perfect in the active life.

— Alonso de Orozco

IGNATIUS LOYOLA was a born leader of men. Until he fell he was the heart and soul of the defense at Pam-peluna, and in the larger theater of the spiritual warfare to which he was called he displayed the sound judgment that was rarely at fault. He could see the value of an important position for a mission or college, and he had also the instinct of the true leader for selecting and training the right man for the post. There are few men in the history of the Church to compare with him for sagacious and successful leadership.

Toward those who were outside the Company he was both courteous and just. He impressed upon his followers that if one wished to treat with men, and to live at peace among them, it should be considered a point of extreme importance to be just toward all and

to injure no one. This wise and enlightened policy turned many enemies into friends and won many recruits for the Company. His deep earnestness carried great weight. He moved hearts to what he wished not with the elegance and abundance, but with the energy and quality of what he said. At the same time he had the tact and insight to pursue the right line of approach. Thus it was that obstinate men he treated and molded like wax and changed them in such a way that they themselves were amazed at the change that had been wrought.

A striking instance of this occurred at Alcala. A gentleman of princely blood was living unworthily, and his bad example was followed by many foolish imitators. One evening Ignatius, poorly clad, called upon him and asked for an interview. The man was amazed at the appearance of his visitor but conceded the request. "Ignatius began to reveal to him his faults, to place God before his eyes, to beg him to take thought of himself and those he was leading miserably to hell. These and other such things Ignatius urged with great modesty but also with great vigor."¹ The gentleman was enraged beyond measure and threatened to have him thrown out, but gravely and serenely Ignatius continued and the other began to subside. Finally, the servants who were at hand to eject Ignatius waited upon him at supper and escorted him home.

Equally fine was the insight with which he won a dissolute priest in Paris. He had tried in different ways to help him but had been avoided. One Sabbath morning he went to his home and asked if he might confess to him, a request that the priest could scarcely refuse.

¹ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 580.

Ignatius thereupon opened to him his past life with much grief and with tears. The priest was deeply moved. He saw that if Ignatius had cause to weep for his life he himself had far greater cause for remorse. Divine light penetrated his heart and he became a changed man.

Perhaps the only time Ignatius ever played a game of billiards he won both a friend and a disciple. He went to visit a Doctor of Theology who was living in Paris and who banteringly challenged him to a game of billiards. Ignatius agreed to play on condition that the winner might name a forfeit. The game was played and Ignatius won. He prescribed a course of the Spiritual Exercises for thirty days and the Doctor, a good sport, paid the forfeit. The result astonished everyone and made the two men friends for life.

A serious situation was retrieved by Ignatius at Rome in 1538. Cardinal Domenico had been led to think of Ignatius as a scoundrel. He advised a friend with whom Ignatius had taken up his abode, to drive him out or he was likely to suffer damage from this "wolf clothed in the skin of a gentle sheep." Quirinus, the friend, was not convinced, although the matter naturally troubled him. At length he was able to bring Ignatius and the Cardinal together and the Cardinal was completely won over. He became a firm friend to Ignatius and gave weekly alms toward the needs of the Company.

Ignatius did not suffer fools gladly. If a man incorrigibly lazy persisted in visiting him Ignatius would talk of hell and judgment, after the first visit, until his visitor was either scared away or edified. On the other hand, no trouble or sacrifice was too great for him to make for others, and this was largely the secret of his

constant success in dealing with men. On one occasion, when he was himself sick, he was sent for by a dying man. There were others in the House whom he might have sent, but he himself went and ministered consolation throughout the night. By deeds of sheer unselfishness, by a straightforward courage, and by his insight into the minds of men, Ignatius won many to his way of life and to his Lord.

But what superb qualities of leadership he displayed in the handling of his own men! What skill and tact he showed in studying each man and suiting the load to the individual! He could be severe to the rebellious but he was full of sympathy and help to the youthful and the erring. In times of sickness the first claim on everything the Company had was held by the sick-room. And so he grappled his men to him with hoops of steel.

Unremitting was the care that Ignatius bestowed on their health. In sickness they came to believe that "No mother has such care for her sons as our blessed Father has for his sons, especially for the weak and sick." He required reports of the sick several times a day. The steward had to secure any special food that they required, even if the others had to live on bread, or if it necessitated the sale of beds and dishes. On one occasion when Ignatius was sick himself, however, he refused a bunch of grapes because there were none for the others. To aid convalescent students in recovering their health more rapidly he built a house in a vineyard. "When a man is sick," he said, "he cannot labor or aid his neighbor, but when he is well he can do much in the service of God." One night Ignatius watched over Ribadeneira who had cut his arm, because he feared that if the bandages were displaced the

patient might bleed to death. We recall how he once walked from Vicenza to Bassano when sick himself, because Rodriguez was very ill there.

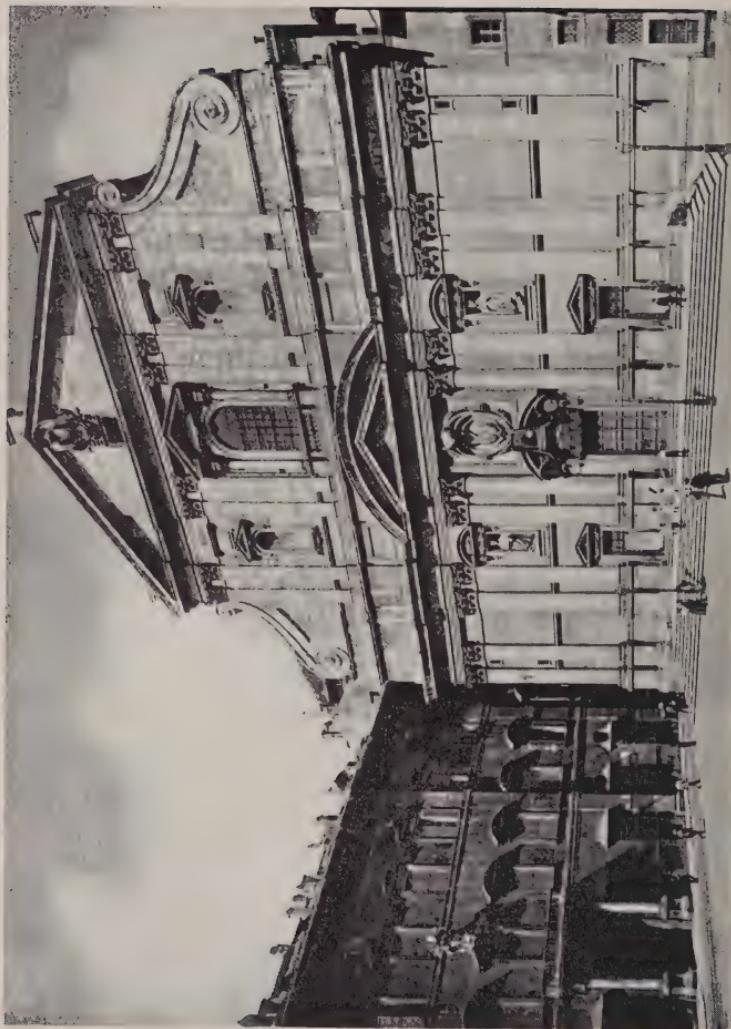
Upon his successors he laid the same obligations in the Constitutions. "A moderate regard for the preservation of health and strength of body to the service of God is commendable, and to be observed by all," he said. "In all those things which relate to food, clothing, habitation, and other things needful for the body, let care be taken with the divine aid, that in every probation of virtue and act of self-denial, nature be nevertheless sustained and preserved for the honor of God and His service, due regard being paid to persons in the Lord. The castigation of the body should be neither immoderate nor indiscreet in vigils, fastings, and other external penances and labors, which usually do harm and injure better things."²²

These words also reveal the thoughts of Ignatius with regard to austerities. At Manresa he had inflicted upon himself the most severe penances and mortifications, but he came to see that there was a more excellent way, and that abuse of the body to the injury of health was both needless and wrong. A willing and hearty obedience was of more value in the sight of God than many fastings. Thus he resolved to eat meat again and to resume the care of his body that he had been neglecting. Afterwards he insisted on a neat personal appearance for his men. Francis Borgia was too zealous when a new recruit, and to him Ignatius gave sound advice. He reminded him that there must be a *mens sana in corpore sano* (a sound mind in a sound body), and bade him moderate his self-discipline. As

²² *Constitutiones*, III, II, 11, and 3 and 5.



A fresco above the altar of St. Ignatius, Church of the Gesu, Rome. The ascent of the Saint into glory.



The Church of the Gesù, Rome. In this church is the tomb of St. Ignatius.

he said in a letter of September 20, 1548. "Instead of weakening the body by excessive mortifications it is more reasonable to honor God by inward devotions." This was particularly true of the colleges and Houses for the probationers. In the Houses of the Professed the rules were more rigid. They were warriors and must endure necessary hardness "as good soldiers of Jesus Christ," but not to the needless impairing of their efficiency.

Reproving the faults of others so as to win a godly sorrow for sin and a forsaking of it, calls for much tact and a true love. Ignatius possessed both in a marked degree. If one of the Company was led into error, Ignatius treated him with such gentleness and patience that the erring one was usually restored. In leading the weak ones to persevere in the service of God he united great prudence with paternal tenderness. When it was necessary to reprove faults or rebuke sins, his words, although grave and severe, did not contain harshness or acerbity, nor did they cause a sting. He penetrated the heart of him whom he reproved and made him feel compunction, and he spoke so that each was persuaded that he was held in good opinion by Ignatius and that he was loved by him as a father. If a member had become an apostate, Ignatius worked willingly, and desired his men to work, to bring back under the banner of Christ his fugitive follower.

When the need arose the General could be unbending. Common faults, such as laziness, he could not endure. He threatened one lay brother with heavy penance because he was loitering over a task he was performing "for the love of God," as he said. To Ignatius the love of God called for extra care and industry, not sloth and carelessness. He banished without mercy all

who introduced disorder, no matter what friends they had. Ribadeneira wept and entreated in vain for a young and noble friend of his. James Lainez was unable to save his brother Christopher from expulsion.

The success of the work and the good of the Company came first with Ignatius. If it were necessary he would remove one of the original Fathers of the Company, as Rodriguez discovered when Provincial of Portugal. And his lieutenants supported him in this discipline. Rodriguez himself had occasion to send away three members from Coimbra. Xavier was forced to dismiss Antonio Gomez, Rector of the College of Goa, and he remained inflexible even against the powerful influence of the Viceroy of the Indies.

Long before the days of modern psychology Ignatius had an almost uncanny insight into the human heart and a wonderful skill in applying the laws that govern conduct. Whether dealing with groups of men or individuals he was equally successful, but particularly with the latter. He had many skillful ways of learning a man's feelings and inclinations. He believed that opening the heart, or a frank confidence, was the most efficacious means of disconcerting and bringing to naught the malice of the tempter. "Temptations," he said, "might be like a lion that boldly assailed, or like a dragon that insidiously spread its snares." And so different remedies were required, sometimes gentle, sometimes severe. He had a marvelous gift for curing the vices of the soul. Sometimes he would help the individual to see his own error, and then ask him to prescribe the punishment. If it were too rigorous, Ignatius would mitigate it. Again he would have the person advise others regarding the same weakness, and then apply to himself, when necessary, the correction meted

out to them. At other times he would have the tempted one preach in public against the fault of which he had been a victim.

In these subtle and yet wisely simple ways, this great physician of the soul applied to the intricate problems of others the healing art that he had discovered in practising upon himself, and that he had perfected in years of communion with the Father of all spirits. His treatment was usually efficacious, and his patients had no anger or resentment against Ignatius, but only against themselves. This was soon effaced by his sympathy so that he excelled, as Mirone once said, not only in healing and closing wounds, but in causing even the scars to disappear. One general rule that he had often successfully used he put into the Constitutions for the guidance of others. "Temptations may be encountered by applying their opposites, as when an individual is observed to be disposed to pride, he should be employed in the more abject occupations which may seem good to humble him, and so of the other depraved propensities of the soul."

Ignatius did not try to lead all his sons toward perfection by the same path, but by the one best fitted for each, and so he studied and "anatomized their souls." He reproved the spiritual leaders who sought to conduct their followers through the same way of life that they had pursued, forgetting the different ways by which God draws men to Himself. This is a principle that many modern leaders have often ignored, especially a certain type of fervid evangelist. To one of his men he pointed out that a certain young and lively lad had garnered more spiritual fruit in six months than two quieter brothers had made in double that time.

He always had more esteem for a simple man of lively

spirit and the love of God than for one who was merely learned. Although he himself knew of the deep things of God as did few men of his day, he looked with suspicion on men who were too readily considered as holy chiefly because they were sometimes rapt in ecstasies. Nothing could replace the training in solid virtues that he bestowed upon his sons. To them he said, in effect, what was said by another father in God to his son, Timothy, "Gymnasticize thyself unto godliness."

Ignatius could touch with sureness the needs of the individual. One brother of choleric disposition he counseled to be always on his guard, and especially in dealing with others of similar nature, if he would avoid quarrels. Edmund Auger, when young, was very impetuous. "Conquer yourself, Edmund, conquer yourself," Ignatius would say, "and by so doing you will have a far more brilliant crown in heaven than those who possess a calmer character." Very practical and sane was his treatment of Jerome Nadal. Ten years earlier he had tried unsuccessfully to win him, but he came at last. He was subject to gloomy feelings, and Ignatius forbade him to fast. He also provided for him a cheerful room overlooking a pleasant garden.

The merry country frolics of his youth Ignatius once recalled to good purpose. Ortiz was making with him the Spiritual Exercises, and had fallen a victim to melancholia. As the darkness of Saul was dispelled by the music of David, so Ortiz was restored to good spirits by Ignatius going through the cheerful steps of the folk dance of the Basques. A novice decided to withdraw without going further in the life of a Religious. Ignatius invited him to remain in the House for a few days as a guest. He accepted the invitation and during his time of quiet visiting he became disgusted with him-

self, and decided to remain. Another young novice of splendid qualities, Lorenzo Maggi, also spoke of returning to the world. Him Ignatius counseled, if he should awake in the night, to think that he had but five minutes to live. He was then to ask himself further how he would wish to have lived, whether for God or the world. Facing the issue thus, as in the "light of eternity," Lorenzo confirmed his former choice of God.³

Others would have to carry on the work later, Ignatius well knew, and he was assiduous in training suitable men for responsible posts. He sought to safeguard these young leaders from the discouragements of early failures, and would therefore bend all his own energies to a new undertaking until it was well under way, and running smoothly. He would then hand it over to another, who would receive the praise due to its success. Men of ability and authority Ignatius would set over affairs that were large and sure to succeed. In so doing, he increased the reputation that they had already acquired, while he remained in the background. If a task of great difficulty had to be done he would entrust it only to one of experience and proven virtue, one who would remain undaunted by difficulty and undeterred by temporary failure. When he placed his Rectors and Superiors in office he expected them to use judgment, charity, and common sense, and to "adapt the rules to the place as best you can." This wise guidance of his future leaders, shrewd, far-seeing, and sympathetic, was eminently successful. When Ignatius laid down the reins of office there were many capable hands to carry on the work so well begun.

³ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 638.

It is the policy of a wise leader not only to keep his men ready at any moment for active service, but also to keep in close touch with those already engaged at the battle front. They need both inspiration and direction, and Ignatius did not forget his men. We have noticed already the messages that he sent to Ireland and to Trent. Those still at home were to stand with one foot on the earth and the other poised for instant motion. But the absent ones were cherished by Ignatius. With great joy would he receive letters from them. Pleasure would beam from his countenance and tears burst from his eyes. Frequently he would pause while reading and bless the Lord who had done so much with such a feeble instrument as himself. And his replies would often stir their hearts like a trumpet call. His letters written in 1555 to his persecuted sons in France inspired them to die rather than desert the work.

How stirring are the words addressed "To the Fathers and Brothers at Coimbra." Writing from Rome on the seventh of May, 1547, he says, "I will not refrain from spurring on even those of you who run. For I can say without any doubt that you will need to strive after great things in learning and virtue, not only in your own native country but in other parts, for seeing the help and interior and exterior training given to you by God, men rightly look for an exceptional result. Hence it is that no mediocre result would meet the obligation you have of doing well. Consider what is your vocation, and recognize that what in others is not little would be so in you." The spirit of the devoted soldier challenges them as he continues. "Do not allow the children of this world to excel you in seeking temporal things with more solicitude and diligence

than you seek those that are eternal. Let it be a matter of shame to you if they rush to death more promptly than you to life. Hold yourselves in little esteem if a courtier seeks more diligently to gain the favor of an earthly prince than you for that of a heavenly monarch; and if a soldier, for the glory of victory and a little booty, makes better preparation and fights more bravely than do you for the victory and triumph over the world, the devil, and your own selves, together with the gaining of the eternal kingdom and glory."

A little later the wise leader puts in the needful word of caution to young and zealous troops. "What I have said so far to awaken those that may be sleeping, and to spur on those who may be lagging or loitering along the road, must not be so understood as to constitute a plea for falling into the opposite extreme of indiscreet fervor." He reminds them also that they are not to think of their time of preparation as being wasted. Besides the advantages they themselves derive they may now serve their neighbors in many ways to the honor and glory of God, "for when soldiers busy themselves in procuring arms and ammunition for an enterprise that is contemplated, it cannot be said that their labor is not for the service of their prince."

And so through an epistle of courage and of cheer he inspires his men to valiant service for God. "For the present no more, except that I pray God our Creator and Redeemer that, as He has been pleased to grant so much grace by calling you, and giving you an efficacious will to employ yourselves entirely in His service, so He may deign to continue and increase His gifts in all of you, that you may persevere with constancy and advance in His service, for His great honor and glory and the help of His holy Church. From Rome. Yours

in Our Lord. Ignatius.”⁴ It is not surprising that such a letter of spiritual power should produce much fruit. “The whole College, as it were, put on a new spirit, desiring to undertake any deed of daring for the glory of God.”

That one last great conflict awaits every soldier of Christ Ignatius did not allow his men to forget. All through their time of preparation their eyes were not allowed to wander from the last combat through which they would win to God’s eternal peace. As General he carefully cherished and strengthened those who faced the end. His paternal care through mortal sickness was never relaxed. He enjoins upon his leaders: “Let the Superior diligently take care that he who in the physician’s opinion is in danger of death, arm and strengthen himself with the weapons provided for us by the bounty of Christ our Lord, for his passage from this temporal life to eternal life, by receiving before he is deprived of his mental powers, all the holy sacraments. At the same time he shall see that the sick person be assisted by the prayers of all the inmates seriously directed to that object, until he shall resign his soul into his Creator’s hands. And . . . some ought to be specially selected to visit the dying man, to assist and encourage him, to suggest such things and to lend him such aid as may befit the occasion.”⁵ No leader, however wise or tender, could do more.

A great love and devotion was evoked by Ignatius from his followers. James Lainez was sick when he heard of the death of his General, and he immediately prayed that God would permit him to rejoin his Father

⁴ *Letters*, 91-108 and 117.

⁵ *Constitutiones*, VI, IV, 1-2.

in blessedness. In his judgment even Faber, with his deep spirituality and his great skill in capturing and consoling souls for Christ, compared with Ignatius, was as a stammering youth compared to a very wise old man. And his absent sons on distant fields concurred in such an estimate of this supreme leader. Xavier said to one of his Japanese disciples, "Brother Bernard, Father Ignatius is a great saint." He went on to testify that against all accidents and perils, like a strong shield and a secure armor, he armed himself with the name of Ignatius. Any leader who could win and retain, through years of relentless campaigning, the passionate devotion of soldiers of the caliber of James Lainez and Francis Xavier is to be counted among the most eminent of the great commanders of Christ.

Chapter 19

The Invisible Allies

Thus is God to the soul as innumerable lamps, shedding light and love, in these secret communications and signs, which, as I see it, is one of the highest possible aids in this life.

— *San Juan de la Cruz*

To the man who seeks God with intense and constant effort, “as the hart panteth after the water brooks,” and who mortifies the life of sense, the invisible world becomes very real and near. In time of danger he realizes with the prophet that the mountain is full of the chariots of the Lord. In the routine of the day’s work he views the “world invisible,” and sees “the vision of Jacob’s ladder, set between heaven and Charing Cross.” In his times of inspired devotion, like one who was caught up into the third heaven, he sees and hears unspeakable things “which it is not lawful for a man to utter.” Ignatius was intensely practical, even to trivial details, but he was also a truly mystical soul. He was a soldier who found the relentless energy for the strenuous campaign in quiet times of spiritual re-

treat. It was the natural thing that he should be born in the golden age of Spanish Mysticism.

The mystical spirit is inborn in the children of Spain and the history of the land has developed it. "Her early national story is that of age-long devotion to an ideal, and in such an atmosphere mysticism breathes its native air." For nearly eight hundred years it had set before itself the great ideal of an emancipated and unified Spain. The Moslem power had to be completely and finally driven out. The cross, the symbol of the nation's hope, was to be again the symbol of the nation's glory, and through the long years that dream burned like a steady flame in the hearts of her people. The dream was realized in the conquest of Granada, and the national spirit leaped to new and more glorious heights.

It was then that the literature of Spain achieved its most signal triumphs. In one master work alone, the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes, in which "the story teller's supreme art blends with a prodigious knowledge of human nature," Spanish letters achieved a glorious immortality. But the religious writers also produced deathless literary works. Among the three hundred mystical writers of Spain who have given to the world the vast output of some three thousand works,¹ some of the very greatest were contemporary with Ignatius. To name even a few of them is to call the roll of the most splendid list of names in the history of the children of the mystical way. Francisco de Osuna, Juan de Avila, Luis de Granada, St. Teresa of Jesus, St. John of the Cross, John of the Angels, Luis de Leon, these were all writers of splendid or supreme merit, as well as true lovers of God. And most remarkable does it seem

¹ Peers, *Spanish Mysticism*, 40.

to think of this glorious spiritual galaxy shining at one time over the same land. In the deep literature of God and the soul their words will live forever. Truly, it has been observed, did a modern king of Spain say at the Vatican, "Our mystics spoke from the lips of men the words of angels."

Among this splendid and unique group of men and women, renowned alike for their mystical writings and their practical activities, Ignatius was pre-eminent. In scholarship and in literary output he was excelled by some, but in solid and abiding achievement he was unequaled. It is in his mystical experiences of God that we find the roots of his marvelous spiritual fruitage. We cannot idly dismiss those experiences. Nor can we explain them away as due to a vivid and disordered imagination. True it is that his exaggerated asceticism at Manresa might suggest some such explanation, but it was not solely at that period of his life that he was conscious of the Unseen. From the time of his conversion until his death, a period of some thirty-five years, at different places and under varied circumstances, Ignatius received visions and revelations from God. His undoubted veracity forces our acceptance of them as being real and valid to him. If we seek to explain them as merely subjective experiences, then we are at least forced to admit that they produced wonderful objective results. Some of them were immediately communicated to others who were near, as at La Storta. The materialist cannot deny to the mystic the possibility of experiences from which he himself, by reason of his own attitude, must necessarily be excluded.

We have had occasion to notice how at Alcala and Salamanca Ignatius incurred suspicion of belonging to a sect who professed to receive direct illumination from

the Holy Spirit. They indulged in ecstasies and such-like experiences, but rejected the claims of life's common duties. Ignatius cleared himself before the Inquisitor since the experiences of these Alumbrados, and their issues in daily life, were altogether different from his. The mystical experiences that he had were of simple visions, as of the Virgin Mary; or sometimes symbolic, as the keys that represented the Trinity; or simply enlightening, as in the case of some questions regarding the Constitutions that he laid before God. But whatever their precise nature they issued in practical Christian living and consecrated service, first for Ignatius himself, and then for those who followed him.

The first occurred when he was lying wounded at home after Pampeluna. He had been given up by the doctors, had made his confession and had received the Sacrament. But that night he had a vision of St. Peter and began to mend forthwith. Another night when he could not sleep there appeared to him the vision of Our Lady with the Holy Child. It lasted a good space of time and was of surpassing sweetness, producing in him lasting results.

One vision only he records as being evil. It appeared in a beautiful and resplendent form like a serpent, and at first gave him much contentment and consolation. Discontent always arose in his mind when it had gone. Before the cross at Cordova its true nature was at length revealed to him as being from the Evil One, and he drove it away with a staff that he carried. It was at this time that he experienced the deathlike trance that lasted for eight days in the hospital of St. Lucy. Only a slight motion of the heart prevented him from being buried alive.

It was on the steps of the monastery of the Church

of San Domenico that he had the vision of the Trinity. He was reciting the hours of Our Lady when his soul began to be transported within him. Under the figure of three keys of the keyboard (*trois touches de clavier*), he saw the Holy Trinity, and it made upon him a life-long impression. One day in the same church during Mass, at the time of the raising of the Host, he saw clearly how in this divine mystery under the species of the bread Christ stood revealed as true God and true man. Often at prayer he saw with the inner vision the humanity of Christ as a white body, but he could not distinguish its members. He felt that if there were no Scripture to teach us these things of the faith, he would be willing to die for them solely for what he had seen.

Perhaps the vision that meant most to him during the time that he spent at Manresa was the experience by the river Cardoner. There he learned more in one hour, he said, than all the sages could have taught him. He relates that he was one day going to church for devotions, and a little more than a mile from Manresa he sat down by the river. It was not exactly a vision that he had, but he saw many things in such a light that they appeared as if new. He received great light in his understanding, so that if all the other revelations that he received from God up to the age of sixty-two could be gathered together they would not have equaled this single experience.²

Ignatius was very conscious of the presence of Christ on many occasions, and always it greatly strengthened and comforted him. On the road to Venice from Rome, when the fear of the plague was upon the people and he was afraid that he would not be allowed to enter

² *Le Récit*, 35, 36, 45, 51, 54.

Venice, he was encouraged and blessed in this manner. Often during the voyage from Cyprus to Jaffa he was conscious that the Lord appeared to him. After his visit to the Mount of Olives, when he was pursued by irate guards, he was in similar fashion greatly comforted. When captured by soldiers on the road to Genoa, and taken scantily clad before their captain, he had a vision of Christ being so led away, and again he received great consolation.

But the most important of his visions of Christ was the one he had on the way to Rome in the ruined chapel at La Storta. It came at a critical and anxious time. He and some companions were on their way to offer to the pope their services as a Company of Jesus. None of them knew what their reception would be, and it was then that the heart of Ignatius was wonderfully uplifted. Entering the chapel for prayer he had a vision of God the Father, and of Christ bearing His cross. The Father recommended him to the Son, who accepted the devotion of himself and his companions, and promised His help at Rome in the words, "I will be favorable to you at Rome" (*Ego vobis Romae propitius ero*). With great joy Ignatius came out and related his experience to his companions, Faber and Lainez.³ He expressed his conviction that all would be well. On arrival at Rome the pope warmly accepted their offer of service.

Very remarkable were the intuitions, for that at least they were, that Ignatius had at different times concerning his companions. When he and Faber went to visit Rodriguez at Bassano he said to Faber, "We do not need to worry about the illness of Rodriguez. He

³ *Le Récit*, 98.

will not die."⁴ On one occasion a novice in the House at Rome was very sick. Ignatius said Mass for him and quietly said, "Stephen will not die this time," and he recovered.

When some of his men did die Ignatius was aware of their death before the news arrived. His first loss was Hozes, whom he had won at Venice, and who was laboring at the time with Codure in Padua. Ignatius was giving the Spiritual Exercises to Ortiz at Monte Cassino, and he saw the soul of his disciple entering heaven. Said he: "I saw the bachelor Hozes enter into heaven. I wept, but felt great comfort of spirit. And I beheld this so vividly that to deny it would be a downright lie."⁵ Later Codure himself was seriously ill, and Ignatius went to say Mass for him. On his way to the Church of St. Peter in Montorio Ignatius paused when on the bridge crossing the Tiber. Turning to his companion, John Baptist Viola, Ignatius said, "Father John Codure has already passed from this life."⁶ How he knew these things before the news arrived none can say, but the mere record of the facts is suggestive of the "more things in heaven and earth," that are beyond our present knowledge.

As Ignatius grew older and his duties and obligations increased, his inner experiences did not disappear. Marvelous were the illuminations he received from God at Venice and other cities, he tells us, so that it seemed as if he were back in earlier days. At Vicenza he almost starved with Faber and Lainez in a dilapidated house, but he experienced many spiritual consolations. He told Gonzales that they were greater than

⁴ Bartoli, *Life*, 1, 278.

⁵ *Le Récit*, 100.

⁶ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 214.

those he had in Paris. When he prepared to say Mass he had supernatural visitations similar to those at Manresa.

During later years, when he was working on the Constitutions, he spent much time in prayer and meditation on various points that had to be decided. Often he had visions in which he saw Christ like a sun, and he was led to make a decision. We recall the little bundle of writings that he showed to Gonzales. The majority were of visions which he had in confirmation of some part of the Constitutions, seeing sometimes the Father, the three Persons of the Trinity, or the Madonna.

Very tender and moved was his spirit at such times. "Sometimes he heard an inner voice which echoed like celestial music. Sometimes again, but more rarely, he speaks of visions." At such times a great warmth burned in his soul as when he tells us that he had "to-day a feeling of great devotion with tears, during the morning prayer and the preparation for the Mass." For an hour and a half he reflected on the matter of the Election. "Now, while I prayed the Mother to help me with her Son before the Father, and while afterwards I prayed the Son to intercede with His Father, I felt myself carried before the Father, my hair stood up on my head, and I felt a trembling and a burning ardor in all my body, then came the tears and a burning devotion."⁷

Despite the dicta of the modern psychologist it is difficult to think of a mind like that of Ignatius being self-deceived through the long years. Astute in matters of worldly wisdom, and skilled in diagnosis of the souls of others, any purely subjective explanation of these

⁷ Henry Joli, *St. Ignace de Loyola*, 197 f.

experiences seems to be insufficient. There may have been occasional coincidences, perhaps in the case of Codure's death, but when all possible deductions are made there still remains a residuum, unexplained, and to the materialist unexplainable. To the man who believes that the conflict in which the Christian soul is engaged is not only against flesh and blood, but is also "against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world," there is no inherent difficulty. There are invisible allies on the side of righteousness, "legions of angels," who are sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation. In such a faith based on the Word of God Ignatius lived and wrought mightily. Another once caught a vision of Christ calling him into His service, not at La Storta, but near Damascus. His life also was transformed and his energies multiplied because he "was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision."

Chapter 20

In the King's Pavilion

You see, then . . . what we can do through the grace of God, if His Majesty Himself be our dwelling, as in the Prayer of Union He is, and this dwelling we build for ourselves. . . . And ere we have finished doing all that we can in this matter God will take this insignificant work of ours, and join it with His greatness, and give it such worth that the Lord Himself will be its reward.

— *Santa Teresa de Jesus*

As a young soldier in the retinue of his friend and patron, Juan Velazquez de Cuellar, Ignatius was familiar with the halls of nobles and the courts of kings. A life of gallantry amid such circles opened out before him, but when he became a soldier of Christ he turned his back forever upon worldly pomp and circumstance. From the Court of Spain he turned to the pavilion of the King of Kings. In a sterner warfare he was henceforth to receive in that pavilion his marching orders for the campaign. There also, in audience with his King, he acquired that calm assurance of victory that

rendered his spirit invincible. The outward life of Ignatius can be understood only as we see his "interior" struggles and achievement of peace. He was a man of humble piety whose aspirations continually sought the presence of God.

His life of simple faith in the providence of God was very childlike. He had utterly renounced position, wealth, and the means of earning his daily bread. Now God must provide for his servant, and each meal became a triumph of faith. Sometimes it almost seems like the very extravagance of faith, as when he wished to trust for bread under the limited conditions of shipboard. It was not the insistence of the captain, but the bidding of his confessor that finally decided the matter for him. Even then he had to salve his conscience by leaving on a bench on the shore five or six little pieces of silver that he had, in case some poor person should come along.¹

Money meant nothing to Ignatius save an opportunity for the exercise of charity. When he left Rome for Venice, with the blessing of Pope Adrian VI and six or seven ducats, he traveled but a short distance before he was rich only in the papal blessing and a generous heart. On returning to Venice from Jerusalem a friend gave him sixteen or seventeen julians and a piece of cloth. He started for Spain and while praying in the church at Ferrara was asked by a beggar for alms. Ignatius responded and the good news spread among the group of mendicants. One after another appealed for the aid which was not refused until his money was exhausted.

The same great faith that was shown at a later day

¹ *Le Récit*, 41.

by George Mueller of Bristol, in the provision of God for his growing family of orphans, was displayed by Ignatius with respect to his sons and his Homes of Refuge. Again and again his faith was vindicated in the House at Rome. Father Codacio, the Procurator, once sent a messenger to Ignatius, who was at a friend's house, with a message that the bailiffs had come to seize the furniture. Ignatius heard the message without a change in the serenity of his face. That day a friend went bond for them. The next day another friend gave Codacio two hundred ducats which cleared their obligations.²

During the famine in Rome, when many thought that they should retrench, Ignatius consulted an architect regarding the building of two more colleges in the city to take care of their growing needs. This he did with the daring faith of "a man from whom it was not hidden that these works were founded in God, and that such foundations could not be moved." At the same time the Fathers were packing the House to capacity with the destitute of the city, depending on God and their own efforts to supply necessary fuel and food. When asked how he could maintain so many amid such uncertainty, Ignatius made the noble reply, "Must I not in some things confide in God? Do you not know what force there is in the hope that reposes in God?"

At one period in the life of the Roman College there was no capital save debts and a crowd of indigent students. Only a man with the rocklike faith of Abraham could have faced such a situation unmoved, but Ignatius could say to one of the fathers, "The more desperate our circumstances are, the greater must be our

² Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 76 and 598.

hope in God." Bobadilla he could inspire to deeper faith with the words, "I feel assured of finding from the hands of God whatever is wanting from the hands of men." And to Gonzales he threw out the stern challenge, "Let us then devote ourselves to the service of God, and leave to Him the care of providing for our wants." There was to Ignatius no cause for surprise when opportune gifts such as wood and bread were sent to the House when their supplies were exhausted.³

He faced the same problem for his future sons who, like himself, would all renounce worldly wealth and preferment. As we have seen, he decided that the colleges might receive endowments to maintain the students, but that the Professed must live in daily trust in God. He declared that: "We should strive with all our might to drive away from us all fear which would deter us from having perfect trust in God."

Prayer, "the soul's sincere desire," became a very vital part of the spiritual life of Ignatius. From the beginning of his religious experience he held it in the highest esteem (*grandissimamente a cuore*), and gave it an important place in his daily life. Rarely did he make up his mind concerning even trivial matters until he had laid them humbly before God. In more important things, such as the Rules of the Company, or the careful choice of a man for a responsible post, he spent much time in seeking the guidance of God. In seasons of arid prayer and seemingly fruitless devotion he would console himself with the thought, "God loves me, He loves me much more than I love myself," and he would again be inspired to more fervent supplication.

³ Bartoli, *Life*, 11, 288 f.

From the very first he held nothing back. There is full surrender in the prayer he made after his conversion. "Take and receive, O Lord, my entire liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my whole will. Whatever I have, and all that I possess Thou has bestowed upon me. To Thee I return all, and I surrender all. Dispose of it entirely according to Thy will. Grant me only Thy grace and Thy love. This is enough for me."⁴

At Manresa he agonized in prayer. In a little room of the Dominicans he spent seven hours a day in prayer on his knees beseeching God. He was willing to follow "like a little dog" if only God would show him the way. Vehemently he storms the gates of heaven. "Help me O Lord, help me my God; stretch out Thine arm from Thy throne my Defender. In Thee alone I hope, for I find no peace or repose in man, or in any other creature." Such were the urgent pleadings that finally brought him both light and peace. Not the wisest doctors, he told Lainez afterwards, could have taught him concerning spiritual things what he learned in the school of prayer.

In later years he divided the night into three parts. During the first part he prayed for the Society. The second period he used for repose. In the third he again engaged in prayer standing or kneeling, unless weakness necessitated the use of a chair. Such supreme importance did Ignatius attach to these seasons of waiting upon God that he guarded them with the most jealous care. He would allow nothing, except a matter of extreme urgency, to break in upon his time of devotion. Even family ties were shriveled in the flame of his consuming consecration. Once in the winter time he

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 298.

was at prayer when the porter knocked once and again. At the third knock Ignatius went to see what he wanted. The porter handed him letters which had just arrived from his family in Spain. Ignatius took them, dropped them into the fire, and returned to his prayers. Such intensity of devotion is not for the ordinary Christian, but Ignatius was absorbed and consumed by the burning ardor of his love to God.

At the same time he well knew the possible danger from unrestrained fanaticism such as he had seen in the excesses of certain sects. Prudence and common sense were necessary even in the intimacies of the prayer life. Self-deception needed to be guarded against, and so he wisely warns his men of possible peril. "He said that those who indulge in long prayers have to watch themselves and not become obstinate and fond of their own judgment, and not receive harm from so useful a thing as prayer is. They need to curb themselves with discretion and to mortify their own judgment." With deep spiritual insight this master of the human heart continued: "Others think that all they feel in prayer is from God and divine inspiration. And so they take as an infallible rule that they have to act by the things that they experience in prayer, in which mistakes and self-deceptions may happen, and follow their own desires and instincts."⁵ It would be difficult to put more plainly and tersely the dangers of misguided and undisciplined devotions.

To speak of the love which Ignatius had for God is an almost impossible task, since it is so interwoven with every attitude of his soul and activity of his life. "In the time of trouble He shall hide me in His pavilion,"

⁵ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 534.

was no empty promise to Ignatius. He sought the tent of his King not only for refuge but also for loving communion. "They can take away my life, but the united efforts of heaven, earth, and hell cannot tear my soul from the love of God," he declared. Life held nothing finer than the enjoyment of God's love. "There is only one lawful ambition, which is that of loving God, and the reward of this love is to love Him ever more and more."

An intimate friend declared that the heart of Ignatius was so full of love divine that wherever he was met he kindled in others the same ardent love. All his catechisms he closed with the words: "We must love God with all our heart, all our soul, and all our will." Like the Apostle of Love Ignatius knew that the love of God that excluded the neighbor was a spurious love and of no value. And so he earnestly exclaims, "I recommend to you the virtue which includes all others, the virtue which our Lord made His great precept since He has said, 'This is My commandment, that ye love one another.' "

It was at the cross of Christ that this ardent love was lit in the heart of Ignatius. There he saw the love of God in its sublimest expression and its power over his heart never waned. Rarely could he say the Mass, that sets forth the eternal Sacrifice, without deep emotion and tears. He sought to give the cross its rightful place in the hearts of his followers. One of his maxims set it radiantly forth: "The love of God never kindles a brighter fire within the heart than when it is fed with the wood of the Cross, of which our Lord made use to offer up a sacrifice of Infinite Charity."

With all the great mystics the love for God passes

into an ardent desire for closer union with the Beloved, and Ignatius knew the thrill of that ineffable longing. He acquired something of that experience felt when "Consolation, peace, joy, beauty, and riches, and all that the heart can desire, are shown to the reason which is enlightened to see God in spiritual similitudes and without measure or limit."⁶ But unlike many before him who thought of the mystical state as a gift from God, Ignatius attained it by the exercise of his faculties. He tempered his will as a fine instrument for the purpose.

Toward the end of his life he seemed able at will to withdraw into himself and to commune with God. That inner life he kept largely to himself. Even to his most intimate friends, certain of his experiences were but lightly or never touched upon. But the effects of that inner life were obvious. If Gonzales were forced by business to see him during his devotional time after Mass, his face was shining. His heart was united to God in all times and places, and the joy of the Lord was his strength. He declared that to see a Religious sad, who no longer seeks anything but God, would be no less a miracle than to see a person joyful, who seeks everything but God. The man who has God in his heart carries Paradise with him wherever he goes.

There were incommunicable experiences that Ignatius enjoyed, as does every mystical soul. Concerning all such times he once said to his secretary: "Be convinced of this, Polanco, that it would be impossible for me to explain properly one out of the numberless favors which the Divine liberality has lavished on my soul. I should find no one who could understand me."

⁶ Maeterlinck, *Ruysbroek and The Mystics*, 151.

The fragment saved from the fire, already referred to, contains further unveilings of his soul, "At the *Te igitur* I felt and saw, not obscurely, but with very clear perception, the Being itself, or Divine Essence, under the aspect of a Sun. . . . After having celebrated Mass, I was praying at the altar, when the same Divine Essence appeared to me anew under a spherical form, and I saw in some manner the three Persons as I had seen the First; that is to say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit seemed derived from the Divine Essence, yet without leaving the limits of that spherical vision."

Again he speaks of: "Spiritual communions so frequent that it seemed to me as if I had nothing more to comprehend concerning the Holy Trinity." And the effect of those weeks of intense spiritual communion he thus describes: "During all this time to see and hear my Lord kindled such love for Him in my heart that it seemed to me as if nothing in the world could evermore separate me from Him."⁷

What he himself had attained he desired also for his men. He taught them the necessity of becoming "inner men," of breaking their own wills at the foot of Christ's cross, of conquering every passion and affection so that they could obey at the slightest signal. But such renunciation was amply repaid. He who possesses God, he declared, although he has nothing, cannot want for anything because God is the supreme and universal good, and with God we possess all other good. All such achievement was for richer service and the greater glory of God. He desired all his sons to have God

⁷ Bartoli, *Life*, 11, 309.

before them, not only in private prayer, but at all times. They were to feel that there was not less devotion in action than in meditation, although the latter is useful to all, especially those who are busy in public occupations.

Ignatius ardently desired to leave the prison house of the body. Like the Apostle he thought it far better to be with Christ. He desired to die that he might see the sacred humanity of our Lord, whom he so greatly loved. From Manresa days he never knew the robust health of his youth, but even though the outward man was perishing the inward man was renewed day by day. In the year 1550 he was taken very ill and almost died, but it seemed as if he saw always present with him the majesty of God. He retired into the recesses of his own soul. On his face was shining a brightness apparent to all. "Lord, what do I wish, or what can I wish, apart from Thee?" he ejaculated. His will conformed to the Divine will and God gave him rare peace.

The mystics have been the spiritual counselors of humanity, to whom "has been historically committed the feeding of the flock of the faithful," declares a modern philosopher.⁸ But first they discover the still waters and the green pastures for themselves. Into the righteous ways of God's commandments they seek to guide their flock, after they have received the Word through communion in the holy mount. To the crusading hosts they come with inspiring leadership, in the ceaseless strife with evil, after conference and communion in the pavilion of their King. In this splendid fellowship, as his lifework amply attests, Ignatius

⁸ Royce, *The World and the Individual*, I, 190.

achieved a noble place. Like the veiled leader at Sinai he bore the visible tokens of the Presence. Philip Neri, one of his friends, who was himself esteemed as a great saint, affirmed, "The countenance of Ignatius seemed resplendent with celestial light, the reflection of the interior beauty of his soul."⁹

⁹ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 539.

Chapter 21

The Last Post

*Then, who, O Lord, is all my well-being
and my final goal, but Thyself? Thou,
O Lord, art the goal of all my journeys,
the safe harbor of my voyages, the crown
of all my desires.*

— *Luis de Granada*

FATHER Jerome Nadal, at whose request Ignatius dictated his Autobiography to Gonzales, tells us that Ignatius had asked of God three favors; first, that the Institute of the Company might be confirmed by the Apostolic See; second, that the same might be true for the Spiritual Exercises; and third, that he should be permitted to write the Constitutions. The third and last of these was now accomplished. But in addition to all these he had seen the work of his hands greatly prospered. On their crusade of salvation his soldiers had fought throughout the world. Some, like Hozes and Xavier, had completed their warfare and entered into rest. Others, like Anthony Criminali, had fallen bravely in the very forefront of the battle. And now the weary General, secure in the knowledge that

his Company was established and that the battle was the Lord's, could express his soul in the *Nunc Dimittis*. It was the month of July, in the year 1556. Ignatius had been General for fifteen years. The end was drawing near.

He had suffered many times through illness, on some occasions very severely. Two years earlier he had appointed Nadal as Vicar-General to take some of the burden off his shoulders. Because of past sickness his friends were not at first alarmed when his last illness overtook him, but he grew steadily weaker and soon he himself knew that his time was short. He received Holy Communion and afterwards requested Polanco to go and ask for the pope's blessing. The post was leaving for Spain the next day, and Polanco was anxious to complete some important letters that he wished to dispatch. In order to reassure himself he called in medical advice and was told that there was no immediate danger. Ignatius was alone through the night and slowly sinking. Early the next morning he passed away.

Father Polanco wrote to Ribadeneira to tell him that God had taken to Himself "Our beloved Father, Master Ignatius, on the morning of Friday, July 31, the vigil of St. Peter in Vinculis (bonds), loosening the bonds that kept him in his mortal flesh, and calling him to the freedom of His elect. He has decreed at last to give heed to the desires of His blessed servant who, while supporting with great patience and fortitude the labors of his pilgrimage on earth, nevertheless for these many years wished most earnestly to go to enjoy the vision of his Creator and Lord, and glorify Him in His heavenly home." Polanco goes on to speak of the sorrowful joy with which they thought of his

release from suffering. "It really seems as if, for his own sake, it was time for his continued labors to end in true repose, his infirmities in true health, and his tears and ceaseless sufferings in peace and eternal happiness."¹

For two days the body lay in state, visited by multitudes of sorrowing people. On the evening of August 1 it was interred in a wooden coffin in the church of the Company, Santa Maria della Strada. Twelve years later it was removed to enable the foundations of the new Church of Jesus to be laid. On the completion of this church, built by the munificence of Cardinal Alexander Farnese, General Claudio Acquaviva caused the body to be transferred back on November 19, 1587. There it was placed in the principal chapel on the right side of the altar. The simple words on the stone are *Ignatio, Societatis Jesu Fundatori* (To Ignatius, Founder of the Society of Jesus). He was beatified in 1609 by Pope Paul V, and canonized in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV.

Almost incredible were the results achieved by the Company in the sixteen years that elapsed from its founding to the death of the first General. His sons had borne a leading part at the Council of Trent, had turned back the tide of Protestantism, had set their hands to the education of youth, had planted missions at the ends of the earth, and had given a mighty impetus to the movement for the improvement of the whole life of the Catholic Church. Their work was supervised in twelve provinces, was propagated from one hundred colleges and houses, and a thousand consecrated members, with thirty-five of them Pro-

¹ Astrain, *Life of St. Ignatius*, 109.

fessed, were carrying it successfully forward. Ignatius had labored with limitless zeal. At Rome, which had become his second home, he had founded his Order, had been chosen General, and had written the Constitutions. There he had planned greatly for difficult and imperative tasks. By prayer, by wise counsel from others competent to know, and by his own dauntless spirit, he had helped to carry those plans toward success. They had been manifest to the world, and his directing genius still controlled them. He lived on in the sons whom he had trained.

The "Foreign Legion" that he founded was destined to outlive the proud armies of Spain, to revive the waning power of the papacy by leading the Counter-Reformation, and to bring together the culture of Europe and the mental and spiritual needs of unknown peoples. "The Jesuits invaded all the countries which the great maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. . . . They made converts in regions which neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter; and preached and disputed in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word."² In somewhat similar vein a more recent writer has borne his tribute to the work that they did a little later in the New World. "Inspired with a self-devoting zeal to snatch souls from perdition, and win new empires to the Cross, casting from them every hope of earthly pleasure or earthly aggrandizement, the Jesuit fathers buried themselves in deserts, facing death with the courage of heroes, and enduring torments with the constancy of martyrs. We see the black-robed priest . . . bearing

² Macauley, *Essays*, 11, 53-54.

his life in his hand, as he carries his sacred mission into the strongholds of the Iroquois, like one who invades, unarmed, a den of angry tigers. Jesuit explorers traced the St. Lawrence to its source, and said Masses among the solitudes of Lake Superior, where the boldest fur trader scarcely dared to follow."³ In the breast of Jacques Marquette and his dauntless colleagues there burned the same spirit of deathless and utter devotion that a century earlier had impelled their first great General.

Posterity has sometimes to revise and correct the estimate placed upon a man and his work by those of his own time. But whether contemporary opinions need revision or not, there is nothing that can replace the intimate, personal knowledge of those who knew the man at first hand, and knew him best. Very impressive in their weight and solemn dignity are the tributes paid to the unique and consecrated character of Ignatius. Many had felt the impact of his personality in different circles, and their combined and cumulative tributes to the simple grandeur of his soul are very moving.

Like a second Timothy was that high-spirited lad whom Ignatius patiently loved into spiritual sonship. Right worthily did Ribadeneira repay that tender solicitude in the preface, addressed to his brethren in the Company, of his *Life of Ignatius*.

"In beginning, dearest brothers in Christ, with the divine favor, to write the life of Ignatius Loyola, our father of glorious memory, and the founder of this Company of Jesus, I am well aware how difficult is the task I undertake, and what efforts I must make in order

³ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1, 56-57.

not to obscure with my words the splendor of his heroic and shining virtues." He tells them that he will write only out of his sure and personal knowledge. "I shall tell what I myself have seen, heard, and touched with my own hands, of Father Ignatius with whom I was brought up from tenderest age, since it pleased the Father of mercies to make me know and converse with this holy man. From the year, 1540, when I had finished my fourteenth year, and when the Company was confirmed by the Pope, I never left his side, writing, noting his steps, words, and deeds, to the profit of my soul."

He requests the prayers of the brethren for himself that "I may acquire the Spirit of the Lord to imitate truly the life and sanctity of Father Ignatius, his constancy in humiliating himself, his fortitude in dangers, quietness and serenity in all the waves and tempests of the world, temperance and modesty in prosperity, and in all things, both joyous and sad, the peace and joy that soul had in the Holy Spirit." He goes on to declare that: "We must always hold before our eyes this clear and shining mirror of heroic and singular virtues which accompanied him, so that his life may be to us an example, and as a true and perfect model of our Institute and vocation to which we were called, in the infinite goodness of God, by this our glorious Captain and Father." No father, whether natural or spiritual, could desire a finer tribute from the intimate knowledge of his son.

The Barnabites, whose devoted service to the poor paralleled the work in that particular field of Ignatius and his men, wrote a letter of deep sympathy to their colleagues in Christ. Their words were comforting and sweet. "Ignatius is not lost to us," they declared; "he

lives in the memory of us all. Wherever the name of Jesus is known, there we shall find embalmed the sweet and precious remembrance of that holy man to whom the Christian republic is so greatly indebted. . . . Let others cast bright flowers upon his tomb. We, as a token of our love and reverence, shall offer up our prayers and the sacrifice of the Divine Host for his holy soul, although we trust and believe that it is already in the possession of the glory of the Blessed."⁴

Among men in secular life none stood higher in moral and spiritual leadership than Giovanni de Vegha, Viceroy of Sicily. With other members of his noble family he had been a great friend and helper of Ignatius. Polanco wrote to tell him of the death of Ignatius, to which he replied: "I am considering the triumph with which he must have been received and honored in heaven, he who was preceded by so many victories and so many battles won against people so barbarous and savage, and destitute of any gleam of light and religion, except what was revealed and explained to them by this blessed and holy captain and his soldiers. How justly can his standard be planted in heaven. . . . God having given him grace to obtain victory over the temptations and trials of this world."⁵

High on the roll of spiritual leaders of the Peninsula is the name of Luis de Granada. Born in the year 1504, twelve years after the completion of the re-conquest of his native land, he was mystical writer, eloquent preacher, brilliant scholar, and Provincial of the Dominican Order. Of the Founder of the Company of Jesus he wrote to Ribadeneira from Lisbon, on the Vigil of St. John, 1584: "What greater miracle can

⁴ Bartoli, *Life*, II, 341.

⁵ Ribadeneira, *Vita*, 512.

there be than that of a soldier without learning, persecuted by all the world, yet chosen by God as an instrument for founding a Society which has borne so many fruits, and which in so short a time has spread itself through all the nations of the world.”⁶

Very concise and comprehensive is the formula used by Pope Urban VIII as he registered in the Roman martyrology the memory of St. Ignatius, canonized by his immediate predecessor. “On the thirty-first of July is celebrated in Rome the feast of St. Ignatius, Confessor, Founder of the Society of Jesus, illustrious for his holiness, his miracles, and his zeal in propagating the Catholic religion throughout the whole world.”⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*, Introduction.

⁷ Bartoli, *Life*, II, 374.

LOYOLA'S CAVALRY

In his poem "The Grand Review"¹ the Rev. James J. Daly, S.J., expresses the august conception of the companies of Heaven's saints marching in review before the Throne of God on All-Hallows Day. His words beautifully epitomize the central thought of this volume, the military idea that runs through it and gives it distinctive unity. With Father Daly we behold in that triumphant march:

The courage, beauty, noble courtesies
 Of all mankind sweep by the angels' eyes,
 A pageant of white glory, proud with pride
 In Christ, their King, on the All-Hallowtide.

And now the rhythmic serried armament
 Of regular troops, armies beneficent,
 Of Dominic, Bernard, Francis, Benedict,
 Whose prowess mortal art cannot depict,
 Swing down the course into the angels' ken;
 And, last of all, Loyola and his men,
 The swift light cavalry of Christ, whose name
 Is writ where their proud colors toss and flame. . . .
 Xavier and Borgia, Berchmans, Stanislaus,
 Gonzaga, Regis, Campion, Bellarmine,
 Rodriguez, Suarez, Jogues, and thousands more
 Pass down the ringing grooves of Heaven's applause;
 Tried squadrons drawn from every clime and shore —

From Spain, France, Italy, and the Germanies,
 From Poland, Britain, Ireland, and the Ind,
 From tropic wilds of tawny tamarind,
 The Amazon, the Neva, and the Nile,
 Japan and China, every lonesome isle
 In the lost spaces of the seven seas.

The light of old adventures in their eyes,
 They ride forever in the quickening quest
 Of fresh discoveries in the infinite
 Beauty of God, a rapturous enterprise
 Forever new, forever keen with zest.
 We watch them stream down the long lane of light
 In rapt enchantment. . . .

¹*Boscobel and Other Rimes*, The Science and Culture Series, 1934, p. 79.

Appendix

THE BULL OF POPE PAUL III¹

Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae

September 27, 1540

*The first approbation of the Institute
of the Society of Jesus, with the limita-
tion to the number of sixty persons only.*

Paul, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a perpetual memorial.

Presiding by divine dispensation over the government of the Church Militant, despite our own unworthiness, and filled with that zeal for the salvation of souls which our pastoral office lays upon us, we foster, by the token of apostolic favor, certain persons who express their desire for it, and we dispense further graces according as a ripe examination of times and places leads us to judge it useful and beneficial in the Lord.

As a matter of fact, we have lately learned that our beloved sons, Ignatius of Loyola, Peter Faber, and James Laynez, as also Claude Le Jay, Pascharius Broet, and Francis Xavier, and further Alphonse Salmeron, and Simon Rodriguez, John Codure, and Nicholas de Bobadilla, all priests of the cities and dioceses respectively of Pampeluna, Geneva, Siguenza, Toledo, Viseu, Embrun, and Placencia, all Masters

¹ The paragraph divisions have been made by the present writer, such divisions being almost entirely lacking in the original Bull.

of Arts, graduates of the University of Paris, and trained for a number of years in theological studies; we have learned, as we say, that these men, inspired (*afflati*), as is piously believed, by the Holy Ghost, have come together from various regions of the globe, and entering into association have renounced the pleasures of this world and have dedicated their lives to the perpetual service of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of ourselves and the other Roman Pontiffs who shall succeed us.

Indeed, they have already labored acceptably for a number of years in the vineyard of the Lord, publicly preaching the Word of God, having obtained the necessary permission to do so; privately exhorting the faithful to lead a blameless life worthy of eternal happiness, and inciting them to godly meditations; serving in the hospitals, instructing children and ignorant persons in the essentials of a Christian education; and finally, fulfilling with an ardor worthy of the highest praise, in all parts of the world where they have traveled, all the offices of charity and the ministries needful for the consolation of souls.

Having at length come to this illustrious city, and persevering constantly in the bond of love, they have now, in order to cement and conserve the union of their Society in Jesus Christ, adopted a plan of life conformable to the evangelical counsels and the canonical statutes of the Fathers, in accordance with what their experience has taught them to be most conducive to the purpose which they have set before themselves. Now this manner of life, set forth in the aforesaid formula, has not only merited the praise of good men who are zealous for the honor of God, but has so attracted some among them that they have resolved to embrace it.

We append herewith this plan of life already mentioned.² It is as follows:

Whoever shall desire to bear the arms of God under the banner of the Cross, and to serve the one God and the Roman Pontiff, His Vicar upon earth, in our Society, which we wish

² The section just given is the preamble of the Pope. The words of St. Ignatius immediately follow upon it, setting forth the plan of his Company. We find embodied here the *Capitoli*, or Heads, of the proposed Constitutions which, in the final part of the document, are accepted by the Pope.

to be called by the name of Jesus (*Jesu nomini insigniri cupimus*), having made a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, must purpose to become a member of a society principally instituted to work for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine, and for the propagation of the faith by public preaching and the ministry of God's Word, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, more particularly by grounding in Christianity boys and unlettered persons, and by hearing the confessions of the faithful, aiming in all things at their spiritual consolation. He must also act so as to have always before his eyes, first God, and then the plan of this Institute which is a definite path (*via quaedam*) that leads to Him, and he must use all his energies to attain this goal which God Himself sets before him, always according to the grace which each one has received from the Holy Spirit and the proper grade of his vocation, lest any might be carried away by a zeal without knowledge.

It shall be in the power of the Prepositus, or Prelate, whom we shall choose, to decide upon the rank suitable for each, as well as upon the activities of all, so that due and proper order, most necessary in every well-regulated community, may be observed. With the approval of his associates and in a council where all shall be decided by a vote of the majority, the Prepositus shall have the authority to make constitutions conformable to the purpose of the Institute. On matters of importance and permanence this council shall be the greater part of the Society which can conveniently be convoked by the Prepositus, and on the lighter and temporary affairs all those who happen to be present in the place where the Prepositus resides. But the right of issuing commands shall belong entirely to the Prepositus.

Let all the members of the Company know and bear in mind, not only in the early days of their profession but through all the days of their life, that this entire Company and all who compose it are engaged in a conflict for God under the obedience of the most sacred Lord the Pope, and his successors in the pontificate. And although we have learned from the Gospel, and know by the orthodox faith, and firmly profess that all the faithful in Christ Jesus are subject to the Roman Pontiff, as the Head and the Vicar of Jesus Christ,

nevertheless, for the greater humility of our Society, and the perfect mortification of each, and the abnegation of our wills, we have deemed it to be very helpful to take upon ourselves, beyond the bond common to all the faithful, a special vow. It is meant so to bind that whatsoever the present Roman Pontiff and his successors may command us concerning the advancement of souls and the spreading of the faith, we shall be obliged to obey instantly as far as lies in us, without evasion or excuse, going to whatever country into which they may send us, whether among the Turks or other heathen, and even to the Indies, or among whatsoever heretics and schismatics, or among any believers whomsoever.

Wherefore let those who shall desire to join us consider well, before assuming this burden, whether they have sufficient spiritual riches to complete this tower, following in this matter the counsel of our Lord, that is to say, whether the Holy Spirit who impels them promises them so much grace as will enable them to support with His aid the burden of this vocation. And when, by the leading of the Lord, they shall be enrolled in this militia of Jesus Christ they must have their loins girded day and night, ever ready to discharge so great a debt. But in order that we may neither seek nor refuse these missions in different countries, let each and every one of us vow that they will never make any solicitation directly or indirectly to the Roman Pontiff, but shall leave all such matters entirely to the will of God, to the Pope as His Vicar, and to the Prepositus of the Society. The latter himself shall promise, like the others, not to make solicitation of the Pope concerning his own mission in one way or the other, except with the concurrence of the Society.

All shall vow obedience to the Prepositus of the Society in all things which concern the observance of this our rule, and he, on his part, shall ordain what he may deem expedient for the attainment of the purpose which he shall know that God and the Society have set for him. In the exercise of his office let him always remember the kindness, the gentleness, and the love of Christ, and the prescriptions of Peter and Paul (*Petri Paulique formulae*), and let him and his council zealously adhere to this rule. Above all things let them have at heart the instruction of boys and ignorant persons in the

knowledge of Christian doctrine, of the Ten Commandments, and other such rudiments as shall be suitable, having regard to the circumstances of persons, places, and times. For it is very necessary that the Prepositus and his council watch over this business with the greatest diligence, both because without foundations the edifice of faith in our neighbors cannot be raised to a fitting height, and also because there is danger for our own members, lest the more learned they become, the more they may be tempted to belittle this field of work, as at first sight less attractive, although there is none more useful, whether for the edification of our neighbor, or for our own training in love and humility. As to the subjects, they shall be bound to obey the Prepositus in all things which pertain to the Institute, both for the resultant advantage to the Order and for the assiduous practice of humility, which is a virtue that cannot be too highly praised; and they shall recognize in him Jesus Christ as though present in him, and as far as is becoming revere him.

Since we have learned by experience that the more a life is remote from the contagion of avarice, and conformable to evangelical poverty, the more it is pure, agreeable, and edifying to our neighbor, and also since we believe that our Lord Jesus Christ will supply what is needful for the food and clothing of His servants who seek only the Kingdom of God, we desire that each and every one of them shall take a vow of perpetual poverty, declaring that they cannot acquire privately, nor even in common, for the maintenance or use of the Society, civil rights to any real property, or to any rents or incomes whatsoever (*ad bona aliqua stabilia, aut ad proventus seu introitus aliquos*), but let them be content to receive the use only of the alms given them in order to procure the necessities of life. However, they may have in the Universities a college or colleges holding revenues, estates, and funds (*reditus, census seu possessiones*), applicable to the use and needs of the students.

To the Prepositus and the Society shall be reserved the entire government or administration of the said colleges and aforesaid students, as regards the selection of the regent or regents, as also of the student body and their admittance, discharge, reception, exclusion; the rules regarding the instruc-

tion, erudition, edification, and correction of the students; the manner of supplying their food and clothing, and all other subjects of administration, regulation and general care. All this shall be done in such a way, however, that the students may not abuse the aforesaid properties, nor the Society convert them to its private use, but administer them solely for the needs of the students. And these students, when their progress in piety and learning has been assured, and after sufficient probation, may be admitted into our Society.

All the members who are in holy orders, although they hold no benefice and receive no ecclesiastical revenue, shall be bound to say the divine office according to the ritual of the Church, each one privately and individually (*privatim ac particulariter*) and not in common (*communiter*).

Such are the plans regarding our profession which we have been able to draw up by the favor of our Lord, Paul III, and of the Apostolic See. This we have done with the view of instructing by this brief writing both those who are inquiring about us at the present time, and those who shall succeed us in the future, if it is God's will that we should have imitators in this way of life. It has great and numerous difficulties, as we know by our own experience, and so we have judged it right to order that no one be admitted into this Society except he shall have had long and diligent testing. Not until he has been found prudent in Jesus Christ, and distinguished in doctrine or in purity of Christian life, may he be received into the militia of Jesus Christ, who will be pleased to favor our humble enterprises for the glory of God the Father, to whom be glory and honor forever. Amen.³

Now seeing that we find nothing in these premises which is not pious and holy, and in order that these same Associates, who have herein most humbly presented to us their petition, may follow with the more ardor their plan of life, because they feel that they enjoy the favor of the Holy See and behold the foregoing approved by us; We, in virtue of our Apostolical authority, according to the tenor of these presents, and of our certain knowledge, do approve, confirm, bless, and strengthen with a safeguard of perpetual stability the aforesaid premises,

³ The confirmation by the Pope now follows.

in whole and in part, as suitable to the spiritual progress of these Associates and of the rest of the Christian flock. The Associates themselves we take under our protection and that of the Holy See Apostolic, granting to them, moreover, freely and lawfully to draw up such special Constitutions as they shall judge to be conformable to the purpose of the Society, the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the utility of our neighbor; the constitutions and apostolic ordinances of the general Council and of our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Gregory X, and any others to the contrary, notwithstanding.

It is our will, however, that persons who desire to make profession of this way of life be admitted into the said Society up to the number of sixty, and not beyond.⁴

Let no man therefore infringe upon nor contravene any of the points herein expressed of our approbation, confirmation, blessing, strengthening, acceptance, concession, and good will. If anyone should presume to attempt it, let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

Given at Rome, at St. Mark's, the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, 1540, the fifth of the calends of October (September 27), the sixth year of our Pontificate.

⁴ The Bull *Injunctum Nobis* of March 14, 1544, removed this limitation of the number of sixty, placing no limits on the number of members.

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